Alan Henry at Hockenheim

AMON HILL took an important step towards the world title with a hard-fought victory in the German Grand Prix here on Sunday to extend his advantage to 21 points with a maximum of 50 available over the remaining five races of the season

It was the 20th grand prix victory of his career, matching Michael Schumacher's tally on a day when the German driver had to settle for a disappointing fourth place in front of his home crawd.

Hill crossed the finishing line Halsec ahead of Jean Alesi's Benetton. The Briton's Williams-Renault team-mate Jacques Villeneuve, his only remaining title challenger, was

Yet that apparently comfortable margin belied the frenzied battle between Hill and the other Benetton of Gerhard Berger, who was a few yards ahead of him when, three laps from the chequered fing, the Austrian suffered a massive engine

Asked whether he regarded it as a lucky win, Hill replied: "Absolutely no way. The last few laps would have been exciting if Gerhard had kept going. I came out of the Clark chicane and suddenly heard one of our engines make a strange noise. I thought it might be mine, but Gerhard moved slightly to the left and I dodged right just before it erupted.

"I won't deny that Gerhard's failure to finish was fortuitous, but these things happen. If it had not been for the fact that I lost a couple | starting to run out now."

Mamma mia's daying is for the lash (7)

5 A drink for the summer? (7)

remove the bornstone (9)

11 See 13

9 One way to put hurdes up -

10 Second prophet from Greak Island

12 Audio-visual presentation fixed to

14 Region of nerve centres missing the

16 Feeble Spanish hero pursued leather

15 Pastoral piece of wood in English

speaker's signal (7)

internipt U 11, possibly (10)

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria

18 Sea 4

20 Tower worker, one who comes wit

21 He says (Inity) he is a Muslim leader

25 Offensive bills after having cled at

26 Eastern, not Northern spidor.

2.1 The bird seems to be very hungry (5)

causing trouble to the hearer (7)

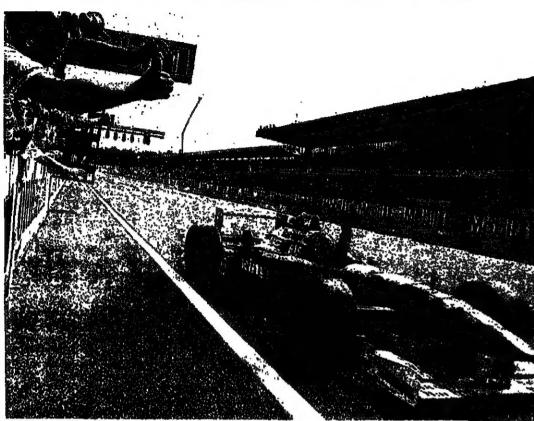
1 Poem in numbers necessary for 5

27 Cuts any prospect of cheer in the

about 45 inches? (10)

Number Ten (9)

ranks (7)



Victory salute . . . Damon Hill acknowledges the cheers of the Hockenheim crowd

flags before my second pit stop I would have got out of the pits ahead of him for the last time and the race would have been in the bag.

"It looks a little easier in the championship and I was really glad to grab this win, as the races are

Hill's success broke a three-year run of misfortune in the German race. In 1993 he had been heading for victory when a rear tyre punc-1994 he bent a steering arm in a first-lap collision, and last year he spun into a gravel trap while leading at the start of the second lap.

2 Silting for surrender, we hear (7)

3 Drink around the cross in the nave?

(4) 1, 18 A second person to desert, a Pole

Scheherazade's time (1, 8, 3, 3, 6)

Foam destroyed 13 and upset 10 to

fravel in Cyberspace (4, 3, 8)

6 Donkey, lamb, and gee, unusual

8 Aloss, maybe natural, for most of

16 Egg producer, lemale, at non-U

17 Nothing left of blanket? (3, 4)

19 Boy with hat heard at lottery (7)

22 Obscure 4 at animal's home (5)

completed other things in

Forged medal has to go

the way to the theatre (7)

13.11 Cyberspace writing put

collection (10)

need help (4, 3)

tion, it looked as though Hill might again be in trouble as he made a slow start and completed the opening lap third behind the Benettons of Berger and Alesi.

This trio quickly pulled away from the pack, which was initially headed by Schumacher's Ferrari,

the champion also having lost ground when he tried to squeeze out Mika Hakkinen's McLaren as they accelerated away from the

Hill was scheduled to make two refuelling stops, but had sufficient fuel in his Williams from the start to have maximum tactical flexibility as to when he entered the pits for the

Having satisfied himself that both the Benettons ahead were likely to be stopping once, he came in at the end of lap 20 and was thus able to emerge in the lead after Alesi and Berger made their sole stops

Now it was down to Hill to give himself a big enough cushion to allow himself to emerge from his second refuelling stop without los-ing the lead. Between laps 26 and 34, when he finally came in he stretched his advantage over Berger from 6.2 to 15.9sec before coming back in for his second stop. Unfortunately for him that short spell under the yellow flag just tipped the advantage back in Berger's favour and Hill emerged a couple of seconds behind the Benetton for the sprint to the finish.

"I was pushing him hard and hopscore points but I wanted to win."

Rugby Union Australia 25 New Zealand 32

A USTRALIA left for South Africa on Monday with nothing but their pride to play for, after the All Blacks snatched victory from them in a stunning fightback at the weekend. It also meant New Zealand win the in-

characters of crime into a cell (10, 4) 23 Heartiess 3s, cutters of x and y (4)

> Jim Fleming. The All Blacks' coach John Hart was surprised that for "punching uncontrollably" Brial had not received a sterner punshment, but said that New Zealand would not be citing the

player over the incident. The result dealt a heavy blow

month, and once again they upset the Ali Blacks by ignoring the latter's haka. The ploy seemed to work as

16-9 ahead, and when Burke, who had scored one of their two first-half tries, extended the lead to 22-9 with two penalties Australia seemed to be cruising

But the ability of the All Blacks to react when cornered prompted an extraordinary final 20 minutes when they scored 23 points, through two converted tries and three penalties, to charge past Australia.

The most depressing moment for the Wallables came when, with 64 seconds left and the score 25-25, New Zealand cleverly executed an old Canterbury back-line move.

It came from a scrum 35 netres out. The All Blacks' flyhalf Andrew Mehrtens looped around Bunce while the other New Zealand centre Walter Little bluffed the Wallables' midfield defence with a decoy run. The space created enabled the fulloff Mehrtens's right shoulder avoid the tackle, and set the ball up for Bunce to score.

The Ali Blacks' captain Sean Fitzpatrick said: "The Australians came at us throughout the game and I was delighted by the way we stuck at the task." New Zealand also travel to South Africa to play the Springboks in Cape Town on August 10, relieved that the hard work is over.

Greg Growden in Brisbane

augural Tri-Nation tournament.

Frank Bunce exacted revenge for the early assault on him by Australia's No 8 Michael Brial by scoring the winning try. Brial had rained a flurry of punches on the New Zealand centre after six minutes and received a stern lecture from the Scottish referee

had dominated for an hour. It was not the best preparation for their final match against South Africa in Bioemfontein this week. Australia were out for revenge after their record 43-6 defeat by New Zenland in Wellington last

Austrolia reached the interval

shortly afterwards.

ing he would make a mistake," said Hill, "It was always going to be a big risk to try and pass him, and I had to bear that in mind. I meant to

Behind Alesi and Villeneuve Schumacher was fortunate to scramble home fourth after a strong challenge from David Coulthard's McLaren-Mercedes.

For Schumacher, who had won in front of his home crowd 12 months earlier, watching Hill take another stride towards relieving him of his world championship was a bitter pill

All Blacks Bunce back to win

TheGuardian Weekly

Week ending August 11, 1996

Stubborn Croats resist Mostar deal

Julian Borger in Mostar

UROPEAN Union mediators were trying this week to salvage the remnants of their two-year peace mission in Mostar and repair Bosnia's damaged peace process, after Bosnian Cront nationalists resisted EU attempts to create a multi-ethnic city administration.

The EU's administrative mandate came to a formal end at midnight on Saturday last week without a power sharing agreement, and prepara tions began for the withdrawal of about 130 European officials and policemen who have been striving o heal the bitter ethnic divide between Mostar's Croat and Musim communities.

Intense negotiations took place on Sunday and Monday but broke down over the wording of a power sharing agreement.

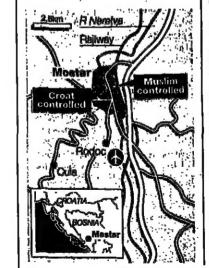
The talks followed the Mostar Croats' rejection of local election results in June, pointing to voting discrepancies which the EU ombudsman deemed insignificant. The Croats refused to attend the newly elected council, in which a Muslim-led coalition has a majority. The boycott represents a defiant

rebuff to European and US pressure. The failure to create new multi-ethnic institutions also imperils the brittle Muslim-Croat federation formed in 1994, and jeopardises success of nationwide elections in September, for which the Mostar poll was seen as a dress rehearsal.

"If you accept such a thing it Mostar, you can forget elections in September," Dragan Gasic, the EU's Mostar spokesman, said this week.

Ian Traynor writes: President problem with free elections: he loses them. Having lost, he tries to move the goalposts and demand a replay — using gerrymandering, boycotts, decrees and strong-arm tactics to reverse the defeat.

Last October his Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) lost the local elections in Zagreb. The capital's administration has since been paral-



ysed by Mr Tudjman's refusal accept an opposition mayor. In Mostar, the divided capital of

Herzegovina, his local proxies have thwarted the city's functioning since the CDU lost the election organised by the EU at the end of June.

For three years the extremist Croats who run the bigger, western side of Mostar have deployed siege tactics, ethnic cleansing, gangsterisin and terror to keep the city the capital of a separate Croatian ministate. They have defied last year's Dayton peace accords and violently attacked the EU team trying to reintegrate the city.

They now refuse to accept an election result which gives the main Muslim party 21 seats on the city council, to the CDU's 16.

Mr Tudjman finds himself manoeuvring between international pressure to lean on the recalcitrants in Mostar and a domestic hardline constituency that is proclaiming No

In Washington last week he had soothing words for President Clinton on a Mostar deal. Yet a few days earlier in Split he breathed national ist fire in a speech to his party's

youth wing.

His moderate foreign minister,
Mate Granic, has offered to resign over Croatian separatism in Bosnia He has also complained about the reluctance of the Tudiman adminis-tration to hand over Dario Kordic, the former CDU leader in Mosta indicted for war crimes by the Hague tribunal. Mr Kordic has a flat in Zagreb and is regularly seen

In 1993, Mr Kordic spearheaded the Croatian war, which drove the Muslims out of West Mostar and subjected Muslim East Mostar to 10 months of shelling, pulverising the 16th century bridge that linked the city over the River Neretva.

This war-within-a-war ended with the establishment of the USprokered Muslim-Croat Federation in March 1994, when Lord Owen as mediator gained Mr Tudjman's as-sent to a two-year EU administration This year signs of Muslim-Cross

tension have multiplied in central Bosnia. The Croats blew up a mosque in Prozor last month. The Muslims responded by demolishing a Croatian Catholic church in Bugojno. The antics over a couple of blocks

of flats in central Bosnia testify to the difficulty of knitting the two communities back together. A blocks on the former front line at Novi Travnik on the understanding that each block would be be shared by Muslim and Croat families.

This summer, the rebuilding complete, Muslim families took one block, Croats the other. Krajina terror, page 5

Marathon man . . . Josia Thugwane became the first black to win gold for South Africa, after the country's re-admission to the Olympics. The Atlanta Games drew criticism for their commercialisation. (Story, page 31; Comment, page 12)

Germany demands calf cull after latest mad cow findings

lan Traynor in Bonn

ERMANY moved towards a I fresh confrontation with Britain over mad cow disease when Bonn demanded this week that the selective culling pro-gramme for British BSE-infecte cattle be widened to include

Bonn also ordered further domestic action aimed at curbing the perceived threat of BSE, attacked the European Commission for being over-hast in relaxing the export ban on insisted that the Commission promptly re-examine the efficacy of Britain's programme to eliminate the disease.

German officials flatly contradicted last week's statement by Britain's Ministry of Agriculture that fresh evidence that BSE could be passed from cow to calf ment's action plan.

"We are demanding that the selective culling programme be extended to the last-born calves of BSE-infected cattle," said Werner Zwingmann, head of the veterinary department at the German agriculture ministry. Whitchell last week revealed a

new study showing that BSE could be transmitted maternally in cattle, "The UK eradication plan for BSE already acknowledged this possibility . . . All the

measures necessary to protect public health are already in place," the Ministry of

Agriculture said. German officials this week indirectly criticised what they clearly view as British compla cency on BSE. The agriculture ninister, Jochen Borchert, sald Brussels had to act swiftly. He also said the beef crisis was being exacerbated by the fact that, despite the world export ban on beef imposed this year, British cattle were still being fed animal meal.

Asked whether British dairy roducts were safe for consump tion, Mr Borchert said there was no hard evidence of any risk from milk but urged consumers to buy German. "Germany is

Last week in its statement the

evidence of BSE infectivity being

UK ministry said there was no

added, however, that the Central /eterinary Laboratory's epidemiology department in Weybridge, Surrey, was "under-taking further detailed studies on this point and that the result of these studies will be available very soon." Since then the ministry has vehemently denied that any studies on the possible risk from milk are being done.

Mr Borchert also criticised the EU for relaxing the ban on bull semen, gelatine and tallow.

Italy seeks to retry SS officer

John Hooper in Rome

TALY has set in motion the machinery for securing a re-trial of the former Nazi Erich Priebke as It became increasingly clear that it would be impossible to extradite

him to Germany. But the chorus of protest that greeted the decision of a military court last week to free him has begun to ebb, and several prominent Italians have supported the court's ruling.

At the weekend an appeal court judge endorsed an order to renew the detention of the former SS officer. The order was made last week by the justice minister, Giovanni Maria Flick, as Mr Priebke and his trial judges were besieged by

demonstrators outside the court. Mr Flick said the decision was justified because Italy was awaiting an extradition request from Germany. But German officials admitted at the weekend that the chances of such a request succeeding were

Mr Priebke, who admitted taking part in Italy's most notorious wartime atrocity, was extradited from Argentina last November under s treaty that forbade his subsequent extradition to a third country.

Lawyers acting for the Italian gov

ernment are now trying to secure a new hearing by having Mr Priebke's trial ruled vold on the grounds that the presiding judge was prejudiced in favour of acquittal. Mr Priebke was accused of a

eading role in the reprisal killing of 335 men and boys in the Ardestine Caves near Rome in 1944.

The court decided that Priebke, aged 83, could not be held to have acted in a cruel or premeditated way because he was obeying orders.

US anti-terror law riles Europe

Arafat's ruthless

brand of democracy Peace women in

jet attack cleared

Swiss trail of Nazi gold exposed

Claudette Colbert, 26 queen of comedy

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TUCKER REARMING
O Z V A D S
OUTREACTION
O I O L O B W
RANGOON EYEWASH

The poor must stop being punished for sins of rich

T HE comments of Robert Solow (Gulf grows between rich and poor, July 21) seem to compare donothing, dreaming environmentalists with the reality of a gap between the rich and poor, criticising those concerned for poverty in the future while ignoring the widening gap of

One can campaign to save a river ecological system while barefoot and eating only beans and rice: being rich is not necessary. In fact it is the poor who live near contami-nated land fill and eat fish from the polluted local estuary. Environmentalists are concerned with the immediate problems of the poor.

Raising the pay of the bottom ranks of employees will not close the gap between rich and poor. It only challenges managers and corporate executives to raise their own salaries, while destructive technological development spreads deforestation, washes away top soils, and increases gases from burned fossil fuels. It is a crime for the rich to profit from ecological destruction. The environmental movement is an attack on the rich on behalf of the poor and all of us. The gap is not between rich and poor, but between the simple and the wise, the prejudiced and the educated. Shehard

Foothill, Stanford, California

IN RECENT weeks articles have addressed both the environmental crisis and the growing gulf between the rich and poor. It worries me that attempts to save the environment by reducing energy consumption inevitably lead to higher prices. This approach is designed to punish the poor for the sins of the rich.

For example, in Australia the solution constantly put for ward for decreasing petrol pollution is to increase the price. In effect this means that in a country increasingly designed for auto transport, with distant, giant mails sprouting like mushrooms and corner shops becoming an endangered species, it s the poor who can no longer afford

to drive (or shop). Allowing the rich to consume while the poor are denied access to resources is mirrored in many ways across the world. The solutions are in fact problems. One private jet flying from New York to Paris for a gallery opening equals a lot of trips to the mall. Not to mention mopeds Chris Sitka

Sydney, Australia

Enough of the Orangemen

UISTER IN CRISIS (July 21), makes depressing reading. Mr Trimble's followers may well feel "enough is enough" but it seems to me that the rest of Ireland and Great Britain are rather more entifled to such a sentiment.

We have often been told that Northern Ireland will remain part of the UK as long as a majority of "the province" wishes it. Surely it is time o broaden the constituency somewhat and ask the nation as a whole if they actually want the Orange funatics to remain within the kingdom? suspect the results would demonstrate that the British people overall no longer care to be associated with intransigent bigotry.



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Paul Winstanley. Palmerston North, New Zealand

with a united Ireland, and they had better learn to live with that. Is it such a horrendous prospect? Caving in to the buffoons in the bowler hats only serves to delay the one historically just and reasonable solution to the problem.

John Flately, Buenos Aires, Argentina

THE EDITORIAL on "The Irish Brawls of July" (July 21) suggests that the residents of the Catholic neighbourhood, rather than flailing their fists, should have "stood shoulder to shoulder along the parade route in silence" to show their contempt for the parading Protestants. This implies superior judgment that is most unlikely after 300 years of hostility with no evidence in that time of enduring moral behaviour or display of conscience by either group. Conscience requires thoughtful deliberation and a struggle for reason as opposed to violence. It should have been realised by now, with so many conflicts of this kind crupting in the world, that governments have little clout other than force and that peace must come from within the

Governments can tenuously ar rest conflict and even mandate peace but the maintenance of peace is a learning experience. It begins with a leader of conscience, committed if necessary to persona sacrifice, such as in the case of Mohandas Gandhi and Nelson Mandela, who can teach the meaning and value of conscience in achievement of peace. The world needs more teachers and fewer

Arthur J Hudson. Iniversity of Western Ontario.

Dangerous assumptions

EVEN in your pages, the use of democracy and communism as if each meant the precise opposite of the other scems to have become accepted. Worse, "capitalism" and "democracy" are used as if they were synonymous. Is there any hope of stopping this insidious misuse of language before it takes root? The Helmes-Burton Act, we read,

will bring "democracy" to Cuba; Yeltsin's "reforms" have already done so for Russia. Whether communism could ever have been genuinely democratic is debatable, though its founders presumably intended it to be so. But the implication that capitalism is by definition democratic is absurd. How many of the notorious 358 billionaires, who together are as rich as 45 per cent of the world's population, operate outside capitalism?

Communism became corrupt, and failed, and could be seen to be undemocratic; but if we are now seeing democracy — "government by the people" — under Yeltsin, why have the majority of those peofrom bad to worse? Perhaps Cuba keeps its own dictator because its people do not want it to go the same way! There must be some who herently undemocratic because it permits and promotes the enrichment of a few to the detriment of the

It must be made clear to the Unionists that their future belongs No credit for Short's brief

WHAT a change of political cli-mate would have been created if both the Labour party and Clare Short had claimed credit for giving the oversens development brief to the person who came third in the shadow cabinet elections (Blair puts squeeze on Labour rebels, August 4). Anand C Chitnis. Southampton

THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY has made the same assumption as the rest of the media — that Clare Short's change of role constitutes a

I would be the first to agree that Britain needs an integrated and environmentally-aware transport policy. However, a change in policy regarding the developing world should also be a priority for the incoming Labour government. The inudementation of Britain's commitment to devote 0.7 per cent of GNP to foreign aid could transform the lives of hundreds of millions of people and transform Britain's

Less altruistically, the move towards a more equitable distribution income globally could vastly expand the markets for Britain's exports. This would contribute to abour's policies of reducing unem-

Clare Short would be a most admirable person to implement such a Steve Honden.

Department of International Politics. Iniversity of Wales, Aberystwyth

SURELY the biggest loser in Labour's reshuffle was George Foulkes, who not only lost his overseas development brief, but has since had to listen to every commentator describe it as a political backwater for no hopers. Robert Hutton-Squire, Edinburgh

Curious gender divide in science

READ Tim Radford's "Astounding / Stories" (July 28) with considerable interest since my employer, the Australian National University, has long offered a graduate science communication programme run cooperatively with Questacon - the National Science & Technology Centre. ANU will confer an honorary degree upon Professor Dawkins and he will open a new Centre for the Public Awareness of Science when he visits ANU in Sep-

I see "a curious dichotomy" that differs from the one Professor Dawkins refers to. The only woman named in the article is an actress. All the scientists, publicists included, are men. Unlike Professor ple helplessly watched their lives go | find it surprising that school children are "flocking in droves away from science". Women are a major influence on pre- and primaryschool children. Unless and until would contend that capitalism is in- the questions and letters that Professor Dawkins finds so encouraging come from the mothers and teachers of young children the "curious dichotomy" will continue. Maureen Meinroy. Cook, ACT, Australia

Briefly

 A^{M} I alone in finding the blubbering emotionalism about how America has just "lost its innocence" to terrorism somewhat misplaced? Does anyone remember the civil rights movement? Murders lynchings, and entire congregations were roasted alive in their churches. Terrorism is as American as apple pie, except that, until recently, all its victims were black. Alastair Sasaki McCapra,

YNNE PANCYR'S implicitly dis paraging reference to female genital mutilation (July 21) reminded me that whereas it is prohibited under the criminal code of Canada, its counterpart, the nontherapeutic circumcision of male newborns, survives as a publiclyfunded surgical procedure. Henry Holgate, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada

IT IS no news that the various Christian churches, and the Roman Catholic one in particular make a great first about celebrating the supposed "days" and centenar ies of remarkably obscure saints. After all, every celebration provides

an excuse for collecting donations. I therefore find it incredible that although it is now fairly well estab lished that 1996 is the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Christ (in 4 BC), we haven't heard a squeak about this Incrative anniversary. Paul Hockings.

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Chicago, Illinois

A S A FREQUENT listener to the World Service I fully agree with your July 28 editorial. I am particularly concerned about the short-term mentality of the Government's reduced funding for such a valuable institution; it is almost certain that structural changes such as those proposed would lead, over time, to a different and lower standard service. Robert Boulstidge, Wassenaarseweg. Den Haag. Netherlands

DAVID BERESFORD'S article on the progressive law-making that is going on in the new South Africa (ANC's liberal reform upsets South Africans, July 25) was good reading. I hope, however, that his research was sounder than it appears. The article reports that one area in which the ANC is progressing is in gay rights. Beresford states that "South Africa is . . . believed to be the only country that offers an entrenched protection for homosexuals in its bill of rights". South Africa is not alone in protecting gays: Canada added protection on the basis of sexual orientation to its bill of rights earlier this year. Wayne McNuity,

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

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The Week

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

SOUTH KOREAN prosecu-tors demanded the death sentence on Chun Doo-hwan, a former president accused of orchestrating the 1980 massacre in Kwangju, and life imprisonment for his successor as president, Roh Tae-woo.

Comment, page 12

BISHOP Pierre Claverie of Oran, a French Roman Catholic priest, was assessing at his Algerian home, only hours after meeting France's foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, on a fence-mending visit to Algiers. Le Monde, page 19

USSEIN AIDEED, the 35-year-old son of Somalia's late faction leader Mohammer Farah Aideed, has been chosen to succeed his father as "president". Obliuary, page 7

SAUDI ARABIA and the US will split the \$200 million cost of relocating 4,000 US troops in the kingdom as a precaution against terrorist attacks.

USSIAN gunship helicopters rained rockets and heavy machine-gun fire on the centre of the Chechen capital Grozny after rebels stormed into the city.

IDNAPPERS who seized Briton Michael Penrose and Frenchman Frederic Malardeau, both working in Chechenia for Action Against Hunger, are reported to have demanded \$500,000 for their release.

SARAH BALABAGAN, a Filipina maid convicted of murdering her employer in the United Arab Emirates, has been released three months before the end of her one-year jail term.

A TOTAL of 22,4-15 Japanese people killed themselves last year — 766 more than in 1994. Financial difficulties were blamed for nearly 2,800 deaths.

ICHEL DEBRE, who drafted the constitution of France's Fifth Republic and was its first prime minister under President Charles de Gaulle, has died, aged 84.

SRI LANKAN government forces are facing fierce resistance in their advance towards Kilinochchi, the last town held by Tamil Tiger separatist guerrillas.

THE Western allies' mission to prevent Saddam Hussein g control of northern Iraq was given another five months of life by Turkey's parliament, allaying fears that the pro-Islamic Welfare party would halt the mission.

HE US government is to pay \$250,000 to Raymond Millikin, a Peace Corps worker who claimed his female boss tried to bully him into an affair.

Row as Clinton enacts anti-terror laws Martin Walker in Washington, Simon Beavis in London and

Stephen Bates in Brussels RESIDENT Bill Clinton on Monday defied his allies and his enemies alike to insist that terrorism was the "enemy of our generation" and assert the United States' right as the "indispensable nation" to take economic and military measures against any state that t believes aponsors terrorists.

He brushed aside the angry hreats of retaliation by European Union states to enact controversial egislation to punish any foreign company investing in oil or gas ventures in Iran or Libya.

With the EU, Canada and other countries already furious at the business in Cuba, Mr Clinton is pushing the US claim to extraterritorial authority and world leadership further than ever before.

emotional effect.

o EU objections to the sanctions.

Helms-Burton Act, which uses US ism in the world. I hope and expect aw to punish third countries doing | that before too long our allies will | the wrong path," the German eco-

"Where we don't agree, the United States cannot and will not refuse to do what we believe is right," Mr Clinton said, as relatives of the victims of Pan-Anı flight 103 and TWA flight 800 stood beside him on the platform for maximum

"You cannot do business with countries that practise commerce with you by day, while finding or protecting the terrorists who will kill you or your innocent civilians by night," he said, in a direct challenge

"Iran and Libya are two of the most dangerous sponsors of terror-

not accept the US threat of sanctions against British companies while the Department of Trade and Industry in London said it regretted the new US law.

France - which has far greater rade with Iran — started high-level diplomatic talks with other EU states, including Britain, this week n an effort to co-ordinate European retaliation. It disagrees that Iran, Libya, Iraq and Sudan are terrorist

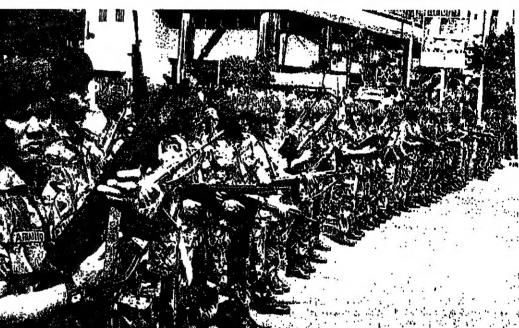
Germany, the EU country with the greatest involvement in Iran, joined the disapproval. "Threatening to impose extra-territorial sanctions against European companies investing in these countries . . . is

nomics minister. Günter Rexrodt said in a statement.

Sir Leon Brittan, the EU trade commissioner, strongly criticised the US law, and warned of retaliation. "The EU has already said it will act to defend its rights and interests f they are jeopardised by this legisation," he said.

Iran predicted the legislation would not succeed. "Clinton's decision lacks international backing and s doomed to failure," Tehran radio quoted a foreign ministry spokes-man, Mahmoud Mohammadi, as

Meanwhile the US is distributing up to 1,000 posters in Arabic offer tion leading to a conviction over the bombing that killed 19 Americans outside Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, last



Gun control . . . Marines bar the way to the Jakartn court last week where Megawati Sukarnoputri bas begun a case against the government after she was ousted as leader of the opposition Indonesian Democratic Party. Meanwhile she has agreed to appear before the police to answer questions about events leading to riots by her supporters last month

FBI scours home of Olympic bomb 'hero'

John Duncan in Atlanta

I Jewell, the security guard at the centre of the FBI's investigation into the Olympic Centennial Park bombing, last week conceded that his client was a key suspect in the case. Federal agents moved into Mr lewell's apartment to make an inten-

after he alerted police to a knapsack containing the pipe bomb packed with screws and nails at Centennial Park, where the blast spread blood and terror at a packed rock concert. An American woman died and more than 100 people were injured by the a heart attack at the scene.

Tobacco and Firearms) agents, backed up by a bomb-sniffing dog. combed the flat and also towed away Mr Jewell's blue pick-up truck for forensic examination.

THE lawyer representing Richard sive search.

"If they are searching the place then he is a suspect," the lawyer, Watson Bryant, said.

Mr Jewell was hailed as a hero

FBI and ATF (Bureau of Alcohol

Several boxes were taken away from the flat, along with what seemed to be laundry in a clear

The FBI spokeaman at the scene, | suspects".

David Tubbs, said the agency had a search warrant. But he stressed that

the investigation was continuing. "Mr Jewell has not been placed under arrest and he has not been charged with any crime. We emphasise that neither the issuance of a search warrant nor the execution of it constitutes evidence of guilt. A search warrant is an order of the court to search a particular location to determine if relevant evidence is

present." Mr Tubbs said. Since the bomb blast on July 27, he added, the FBI had gone through a list of many potential suspects and eliminated them in the mint for the man responsible.

Mr Jewell, who says he is innocent, sat outside on an iron staircase, his back to the many cameramen and journalists nearby, mother left the apartment.

During the search, with which the suspect co-operated fully, according to the police, Mr Jewell was accompanied at all times by his

Last week the FBI's director, Louis Freeh, dampened the frenzied speculation about Mr Jewell when he told a Senate committee that his agents were looking at "a number of

already been all but convicted by the US media. A photograph of Mr Jewell in military fatigues with an M-16 rifle was reproduced in several newspapers. Criminologists held forth on television about a "hero syndrome", in which law enforce-

draw attention to themselves. Mr Jewell, a former police officer. worked at the park as a security man for the AT&T telecommunications company, which has a pavilion in the entertainment area.

ment officers commit crimes to

Mr Bryant said: "Richard had othing whatsoever to do with plantng that bomb. He had nothing to do vith the bomb at all except being a hero by finding it, then getting people out of the way."

Earlier, the FBI investigation had American male who made a warning call from a public phone near the park minutes before the bomb

ruled out Mr Jewell as the source of the call. The FBI is said to have accounted for his presence in the park between the phone call and the explosion.

Washington Post, page 16

Israeli PM tries to tempt Syria

David Hirst in Belrut

THE ISRAELI prime minister. Binyamin Netanyahu, ex-pressed confidence on Monday about the prospect for resuming peace negotiations with Syria.

He indicated that a so-called "Lebanon-first" formula would be a good starting point for the talks which have looked highly improbable since he and his hard-hoe lakad government came to power two mouths ago.

President Hafez al-Assal of Syria has yet to respond. Despite his campaign to show good will on all fronts, he will almost certainly reject what he considers to be a subterfuge to postpone indefinitely discussion of the future of the Golan Heights. Syria demands a complete Israeli withdrawal; Mr Netanyahu

has ruled that out. Under "Lebanon-first", Israel would withdraw from south Lebanon's "security zone" in return for the disbandment of the Hizbullah guerrillas, the return of the Lebanese army to the south, and

"security guarantees". Syria and Lebanon have called the proposal a "trap" into which

Mr Netanyahu was speaking at a press conference in Amman after holding talks with King Hussein of Jordan, who had been in Damascus over the weekend. His officials denied that he was acting as a mediator between Syria and Israel.

Mr Netanyahu said Israel was "ready to engage in peace negotia-tions with Syria on all outstanding issues". Speaking of Lebanon, he said that Israel had no territorial

But the Syrian and Lebanese governments have so far made clear that they see "Lebanon-first" as a can conceal his basic intransigence Then Syria can be cast as the obsta cle to an israeli withdrawal.

It seems, however, that, while as unbending as ever about his basic requirements for peace, President Assad is trying to appear flexible too. He has cultivated relationships with King Hussein, the Palestinian Authority president Yasser Arafat. and the Europeans, and he has been patient with the Americans.

Chris McGreal in Bujumbura

ANZANIA has added bite to the sanctions imposed on Burundi in retaliation for the military coup last month by blocking oil shipments, turning back lorries at the border and halting commercial flights.

On Monday Kenya said it was suspending rail, road and air links with Burundi as part of economic sanctions agreed by African leaders A spokesman in the office of President Daniel arap Moi said the sanctions would also restrict movement of people between the two countries. which do not share a land border.

Burundi's military is relying on another neighbour, Rwanda, to take a less rigorous approach and so case the pain of the blockade. But the latest United Nations report, which blames Tutsi soldiers for the wholesale shaighter of Hutu civilians in recent months, will further diminish sympathy for the new regime.

Tunzania has struck where it is likely to hurt most by shutting off Burundi's main source of oil, normally delivered by railway from Dar es Salaam and then by barge across lake Tanganyika. On Monday a Tanzanian official said they were barring 800 tons of fuel, as well as passenger ferries, from leaving port.

Burundi says it has fuel stocks sufficient for several weeks, but the government is already considering rationing to conserve petrol supplies for the war against Hutu rebels.

Tanzania's hard line will undoubtedly sting Burundi, but the military regime is hoping to re-route supplies through Rwanda, where comments by some Tutsi officials suggest the government is backtracking on its commitment to a full blockade. But Rwanda is vulnerable to pressure from Uganda, which has shown little sympathy for Burundi's military.
Although the blockade was im-

Phil Gunson in Panama City

THE United States military pres-

ence - a dominant factor in

Panama's politics since its US-spon-

sored secession from Colombia in

1903 - is slowly but inexorably

The 1977 Panama canal treaties

require the last of the 7,300 troops

to leave by midnight on December

31, 1999. The eight remaining bases

— with about 70,000 acres of land and more than 3,600 buildings —

are gradually being transferred to

the Panamanian government,

Southern Command (Southcom) it-

drawing to a close.

much lower.

demands of Burundi's neighbours go wider. They are hoping, among other things, to put pressure on the new regime to negotiate with the Hutu rebels and bring the army under control.

The latest UN report confirms how deep the problems go. The UN Centre for Human Rights has uncovered 17 previously unrecorded massacres by Burundl's overwhelmingly Tutsi army in the past four months. Up to 3,000 people were murdered in the attacks.

The report says Hutu rebels were also responsible for murders over the same period, but concludes that the greatest number were killed by elements of the Burundian army", in reprisal for attacks on the civillan

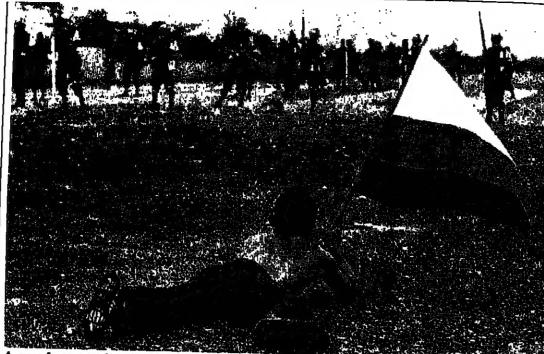
In an effort to make his government appear more legitimate, Burundi's new military leader, Pierre Buyoya, named a 23-member government at the weekend.

The announcement was delayed for several days as Major Buyoya tried to bring on board politicians acceptable to most Burundians. He largely failed. Although the new government offers an ethnic balance - with Burundi's Hutu majority receiving about the same representation as the Tutsi minority there is little political balance.

Most of the Hutus in the cabinet are from the Tutsi-dominated Uprona party, which is close to the army and played an instrumental role in creating the coup.

Political heavyweights from Frodebu — the mainly Hutu party which overwhelmingly won Burundi's only free election three years ago - are noticeably absent.

Some of Frodebu's former cabinet ministers, including the deposed president Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, are still sheltering in Western embassies.



A coca farmer waving the Colombian flag faces troops at the airstrip of Puerto Asis in Putumayo province on the border with Ecuador. Last week two people were killed and at least 15 injured by security forces when several thousand farmers tried to march on the airport to protest at the government's US-backed programme to cradicate drug crops. The town, which has been taken over hy an estimated 15,000 farmers, has become a focal point for demonstrations PHOTOGRAPH: MANUEL SALDARRIAGA

Belgian PM acquires 'absolutist' powers

Stephen Bates in Brussels

The man spurned by John Major two years ago for the presidency of the European Commission is now arguably the most powerful domeslic politician in Europe. Belgian MPs passed three laws giving him executive power to raise taxes, cut social security budgets and set wage

About 75 per cent of its trade is with its fellow Benelux countries and Germany and France. At a pugnacious press conference n Brussels last week, after a daylong cabinet meeting, Mr Dehaene said he would press ahead with strict budgetary reforms. The at-

the public and reduced his approval his government would be taking rating in opinion polls to less than 20 per cent, Mr Dehaene insists that three weeks' holiday. Mr Dehaene said: "You can judge there is no alternative to emergency us when we have finished — and we measures if the economy is to meet will finish the job." the Maastricht criteria for joining

Belgium is showing how far EU the single currency in just over two member states other than Britain are prepared to go for economic and The government says it must monetary union, even at the risk of make ready, since its closest neighsocial tension, as occurred in bours and trading partners are France last year. It has already suflikely to be among the first to join. fered long-running demonstrations and protests against education cuts.

Drastic action is undoubtedly eeded if Belgium is to meet the Maastricht criteria. It needs to slash its budget deficit from 4.5 per cent to 3 per cent by the end of next year, and more than halve the ratio of its national debt, which stands at 133 mosphere of crisis was dispersed, per cent of gross national product

EAN-LUC DEHAENE, the Bel-Ugian prime minister, has found hunself cast in the unlikely role of the absolutist French monarch Louis XIV by angry compatriots and press cartoonists since he ruthlessly seized control of the economy in an attempt to prepare the country for the European Union single

levels without prior consultation. With a record that has annoyed

Dole goes for tax cuts

there will be an almost immediate

Nevertheless, recent polls show attract, the handover is a distinctly that three-quarters of Panamanians mixed blessing. would like to see a military pres-

Wary of a nationalist backlash, the government tentatively began to explore the issue with Washington a year ago. But the talks were suspended when a Southcom colonel said publicly that the US would not pay rent for bases. Time is running out because

there is no money in the defence department budget for a presence peyond 2000. The budget cycle of the Penta-

self is due to move to Miami in 12 gon is such that the window will But Panama's joy at the gringos' soon be gone," said Ambler Moss, a departure is tempered by nervousformer US ambassador to Panama. ness at the potential economic They must be pretty damn close to the deadline now." The Pentagon estimates that it

ence continue.

a solv million was in the national economy - 13 per cent of gross domestic product. Most indeence that might be negotiated would pendent experts put the figure have little direct impact on the econ-"It's not true that there will be omy, but would reassure foreign investors of the country's stability.

such a large negative impact," says the president, Ernesto Pérez Balinvasion toppled Manuel Antonio ladares. The fact that the troops Norlega, Panama was a military dicdeparture coincides with the handover of the canal to Panama means tatorship. The post-invasion govern-over of the canal to Panama means ment abolished the armed forces.

US pullout threatens Panama's economy Without the foreign investors which the government hopes to

Mr Moss estimates that it will cost \$25 million just to maintain the build-

ings when the troops have gone.

Much of the infrastructure that once formed part of the old Canal Zone deteriorated rapidly once it was transferred to the Panamanian government. The main road is now "one big pothole", according to an occa-sional user, and the railway, handed over in 1979, is no longer regarded as safe by the US milltary.

In June, Mr Pérez Balladares announced that he was willing to let the base, rent-free, as the headquarters for a multinational antinarcotics force — a proposal Washington is looking at very seriously", the US embassy says.

Mr Moss, now director of the North-South Centre at the University is desperate to maintain a foothold, of Miami, believes the sort of pres- but the public position is that all current tasks - including drug interdiction — can be performed equally well without its help.

Mr Pérez Balladares is also keen From 1968 until 1989, when a US to dispel the idea that Panama needs the US. The colonial relationship is over," he said. "We are Martin Walker in Washington

HE Republican presidential

challenger, Bob Dole, tried to revive his sputtering campaign this week by promising a 15 per cent tax cut, which he claimed would spur the economy back to "a fast-growth track of a sustained 3.5 per cent". The electoral impact was

blunted by the former senator's own earlier mockery of such Reaganesque economics, and renewed argument between the warring wings of his party on abortion, which threatens to dominate next week's Repubilcan convention in San Diego. Mr Dole and his supporters

failed on Monday to get the Republican platform committee, which is drafting the manifesto on which the party will fight the November election, to adopt an emollient "conscience clause" to reassure pro-abortion voters.

He is condemned to fight the election on a promise to amend the constitution to outlaw abortion as murder, even though more than two-thirds of voters say they disagree. The issue is tearing the party asunder in states such as Georgia and Kansas.

The stage is set for near civil war at next week's convention. Moderate Republican leaders, such as the governors of California, New Jersey and Massachusetts, are determined to fight the religious right wing

Mr Dole is now also committed to a tax cut and a fast-growth economic policy, a gamble he dismissed as "déjà voodoo" when the Reagan administration tripled the national debt to \$3 trillion in the 1980s.

on the issue.

He announced his longawaited economic plan in Chicago this week, although it was already being denounced as "irresponsible and fake" by senior economists in the Clinton

economic record in the G7 group of leading industrialised countries, Mr Dole has little left to exploit, except his accusation of "consistent under-performance". Growth under President Clinton has averaged less than 3 per cent a year, less than the usual rate during

US this week, page 6

recovery from a recession

Arafat drops pretence at democracy

Shyam Bhatla in Jerusalem

ASSER Arafat-style democracy has been in evidence throughout the West Bank this past week, from the chambers of the legislative council in Bethlehem to the underground prison cells of Nablus, where a young Palestinian was beaten to death.

As one nightmare ended in tragedy, another began when the Palestinian president, shouting abuse and threats, marched out of a meeting of his legislative council. The reason the 88 legislators were characterised as "dogs" and "sons of bitches" last week was that they dared to discuss the limits of Mr Arafat's presidential powers in a

The volley of abuse from the "Fa-ther of the Revolution" shocked the Bethlehem gathering into silence.
Only one man had the courage to react. Ahmed Qreia, the Speaker of the House and a longstanding associate of Mr Arafat, got up from his chair and announced: "That's it, I've had enough, I'm resigning."

Condemnation at this level does not sit easily with the Nobel Laureate who chooses to present himself on the international stage as a bornagain peacemonger and democrat. Those closely familiar with Mr Arafat's tantrums present a different picture of the president. They say the Bethlehem episode is yet another example of how he is rapidly transforming his regime into a ruthless dictatorship.

"This is a regime of terror and intimidation." says one Palestinian representative who witnessed the Bethlehem showdown. The people who elected us are laughing at us because they know we are

Mr Arafat rarely justifies his actions or his language, but the shocked reactions of his constituents obliged him to return to the council to explain away his abusive rhetoric. "Don't misunderstand me," he told bewildered council representatives. "What happened here was part of our democracy. We are proud of our democratic system."

Mr Arafat is intolerant of the alighteat opposition or criticism. Those who dare to protest quickly find themselves handcuffed and escorted to one of the president's Although he rules with the help

of a Cabinet, none of his ministers dares make a decision without his approval. More importantly, he has exclusive control over the Palestinian Authority's bank accounts and

Ghosh, was severely beaten by the head of the Palestinian secret service, Colonel Jibril Rajoub, after he refused to give up his parking space

Iron hand . . . Arafat presents himself to the world as the born-again peacemonger, but many say the

o the wife of a Palestinian minister. Last month Col Rajoubs's agents. acting on Mr Arafat's direct instructions, kidnapped an Israeli-Arab businessman from his Jerusalem home. Abdel Salam Harbawi's only fault was to file a complaint in an Israeli court against the Coptic church in Arab East Jerusalem. The the landowners lay down in front of cause of the dispute was trivial, but the church took its version to Mr

ers and have since disappeared. They are widely believed to have been detained by one of Mr Arafat's When Mr Harbawi rejected Palestinian arbitration, he was kid-napped. He was released from Testimonies gathered by human prison in Ramallah only after Israel sealed off access to the city and warned it would cancel a forthcoming meeting between its foreign minister, David Levy, and Mr Arafat. "Arafat's policemen are behaving girl from Gaza committed suicide

like gangsters," says a Palestinia know under which law they operate. Each force has its own prison and acts independently."

The Palestinian navy may not have a single ship to its name, but it

visers has been detained by Palestinan secret service personnel. does possess a lock-up. The secret In Ramallah the deputy mayor, of the navy's detention facilities Zaki Nahas, was abducted by memmight never have surfaced but for bers of Force 17, Mr Arafat's presidential security guards, after he the tragic death of a young Palestinrefused to sell his land to a senior

he alone decides how to spend the | a wealthy businessman, Aluned Abu | arrested eight months ago when he knocked on the door of Col Rajoub's police station in Jericho to inquire

about his missing brother. Last week 26-year-old Jumayl was handed over to Mr Arafat's navy police commandos. Three days later his mutilated body was brought to a West Bank hospital. Witnesses said that Jumayl had been branded with hot irons and suffered extensive cigarette burns. He was the seventh alestinian to die under torture in Mr Arafat's prisons

Jumayl's death has provoked mini intifada against the Arafat regime. Thousands of Palestinian mourners joined the funeral procession last week in Juniayl's home town of Nablus, throwing stones at police, burning tyres on the city streets and

shouting anti-Arafat slogans. In the nearby town of Tulkarm, Palestinian policemen last week shot and killed a 28-year-old Palestinian who participated in a demon-

stration. Four others were seriously "I can tell you there is organised

torture in Arafat's prisons," says Hosam Khadr, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council. "I myself am a veteran of Israeli prisons and I was arrested by the Israelis on 23 occasions. What is happening in our prisons now is much worse than what we experienced in Israeli jalls during the 27 years of

Krajina Serbs 'still being terrorised'

Julian Borger in Sarajevo

THE few elderly Serbs who clung to their homes in the Krajina region of Croatia despite a Croatian army offensive a year ago are still being terrorised, the Red Cross and human rights organisations said last

In separate reports, Human Rights Watch (HRW) in New York accused the government of allowing looting, burning and killing" to continue in Krajina despite its promises of protection and the inernational Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) alleged that "soft terrorism" was being carried out against the region's aged Serbs.

The scathing reports were an embarrassment to Croatia's president, Franjo Tudjman, on the day be met President Clinton in Washington. Croatia is trying to renegotiate entry to the Council of Europe after being barred in May for human rights infringements.

On August 4 last year the Croatian army launched a blitzkrieg attack on Serb rebel positions and retook the Krajina region, which lies ilong the border with Bosnia. About 200,000 Serbs fled, leaving only 10,000, mostly elderly, people. More than 200 were killed or disappeared in the months that followed as gangs of Croatian thugs roamed Krajina pillaging and burning Serb villages.

After an international uproar, the government increased the police resence in the area last October. but according to reports by the ICRC, HRW and the Croatian Helsinki Committee the threat to Serb survivors has not diminished.

The ICRC report said: "Criminal acts and abuses continue to be carried out on a regular basis against the most vulnerable amongst the remaining [Serb] population and there has been no improvement noted in the protection situation . . . Returnees have had their houses burnt down in arson attacks and there have been serious injuries and deaths caused by deliberately planted explosive devices." François Bellon, an ICRC spokesman in Belgrade, said: "In Krajina, there is what I would call soft terrorism."

The ICRC report, citing Croatian government figures, said 89 houses were destroyed by arson or explosives and 12 people killed. The Human Rights watch report said 80 serbs were executed in Krajina between November and April.

Dirty tricks used to trap Russian Untouchables | daily contact with the most powerful men around Boris Yeltsin. Now he

tens of millions of dollars received

When South Korea approved

\$7 million for Palestinian economic

development, Mr Arafat shaved off

\$2 million for a new presidential

headquarters and residence on the

outskirts of Nablus. Palestinians

learned of their president's grandiose

scheme after he sent in police to

confiscate thousands of acres be-

longing to local farmers. Some of

the Palestinian Authority's bulldoz-

rights activists show that comman-

ders of Mr Arafat's 45,000-strong

police force are mired in scandals

ranging from kidnapping and rape to embezzlement, blackmail and land

theft. Earlier this year a 17-year-old

after she was raped by a senior po-

lice officer. In Jerusalem a Palestin-

ian academic who claimed she was

raped by one of Mr Arafat's close ad-

nine security agencies.

from foreign donors.

THE HEAD of a secretive Kremlin-based fund notorious for importing hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of duty-free liquor for importing hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of duty-free liquor is arrested, and bundled off to a is arrested on drugs charges. Species arrested on drugs charges. Species arrested on drugs charges. Species arrested on drugs charges and prison in the town of Saratov, temic danger," said Berger. "I think the case is drugs were planted by a police officer. He was held for a few days being run by the FSB, an investigative team from the former KGB, KGB pounce on a senior officer in an intelligence-gathering service, accused of embezzling huge amounts. The deputy head of Russia's bankruptcy agency is selzed and charged with taking bribes.

Are Russia's security services finally getting tough with their country's rampant corruption where it matters, at the top? Has someone been touching the Untouchables?

head of a government agency involved in judging whether state owned firms should be declared many enemies on his travels around bankrupt, vanished from Moscow. It emerged later that he had been finally charged with taking bribes. been preserved — when a big min-

ited Saratov and taken a \$4,500 bribe to declare a firm bankrupt to help a considered to be an order." rival of the then general director gain control. Police say they found \$160,000 in cash in his flat last month;

many enemies on his travels around Russia. His boss, Pyotr Mostovoy, is also under criminal investigation.

The case against him is clear enough. In 1994 he is said to have vis-With Boris Fyodorov, head of the

National Sports Fund, the stakes were much higher. Two months: his official salary is \$400 a month.

Mikhail Berger, economics edi raises money for the country's inated by his wife. tor of Izvestiya, is among those who I sportsmen and women, he was in For Sergel Zamoshkin, a Moscow I that," said Mr Zamoshkin.

is in an undisclosed western European country, recovering from an assassination attempt and fearing He was arrested in May after po-

lice found a few grams of cocaine in 1,000 miles away. Last week he was the tradition of Soviet times has fore being released and sacked as tive team from the former KGB. head of the fund. In June he was | which has refused to tell the general shot and stabbed.

Soon afterwards, a Moscow newspaper, Novaya Gazeta, published the transcript of an insurance policy" tape of Mr Fyodorov in

lawyer, the issue is not so much whether the accused is corrupt, as the illegal way the investigators go

He is one of the lawyers trying to defend General Valery Monastyretsky, head of finance at the Fapsi secret communications agency, who

what he is accused of and has tried to keep lawyers out of the remand prison where he has been held for several months.

"Corruption is a terrible thing which he portrayed his boss, the and it needs to be fought. But it sports minister, Shamil Tarpishchev, needs to be fought by lawful methode, with constitutional methods, and the authorities don't want to do





The US this week

Martin Walker

I N ONE last thrashing spasm of legislation, what had threatened to be an impotent Congress tinally carned its summer vacation, Infour brisk days it redefined welfare, raised the minimum wage, passed a sound piece of health reform and a silly law that was allegedly aimed against terrorism, and, in sum, conspired happily with the Clinton reelection campaign.

The president may now tell his party convention in Chicago that he did not destroy Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal for destitute women and children, but instead faltified his 1902 promises "to end welfare as we know it" and to ensure that ordinary working Americans would not lose their health insurance when they change or lose their jobs.

"We have seen Congress go from gridlock to Olympic Gold," trumpeted the new majority leader. Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, one of the Republican chieffains who voted against the minimum wage bill but was openly content that it was passed, Congression Dick Armey, the second-ranking Republican in the House, also voted against it. Having said earlier that he would oppose the bill "with every fibre of my being", Armey had little choice. A passionate free market man, Armey argues that an increase in the minimum wage will necessarily increase unemployment by making unskilled labour more expensive.

The bill increases the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 an hour, raising the annual pay of such workers in a full-time job from \$8,600 to \$10,300 a year. To pacify the objections of Armey and others, the bill also includes some \$21 billion in tax breaks for small businesses over the next 10 years to help them pay the higher wages.

The health reform is known as the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill, after its two sponsors in the Senate. One was the reliable old liberal, Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, whose support for any measure is somelimes enough to doorn it for Republicans. The other was Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, who like her fellow Kansan Bob Dole, is retiring | One Nation and sound money (and this year. By passing this bill, which the public, radical reform of the overall US medical system, which Hillary Clinton had proposed, becomes far less likely.

A sensible and moderate bill from sensible and moderate woman, this measure resolves one of the worst features of the US medical

insurance company would prefer to

"Every American who has played by the rules will be able to keep their health insurance coverage even if they change jobs, lose their job or have a pre-existing condition. It is a historic step forward," Senator Kassebaum said, sounding uncannily like Clinton in that phrase "every American who has played by

It chines with the whole thrust of Clinton's domestic reforms, which are increasingly to stress the difference between the working and thus the deserving poor, who are honest and respectable, and the undeserving poor, those unable or unwilling to work their way out of welfare. Like so much else about the Clinton era, from the strengthening class system to the stress on civic virtues and making divorce less easy, it carries some strikingly Victorian Clinton always spoke in such

erms. Recall his sterrely retributionist attitude to crime in the 1992 campaign, which inspired this reporter to suggest that Clintonism was "Keynesian economics plus the electric chair". And recall also how linton as candidate always put the stress on "ordinary hardworking Americans who play by the rules" Democrats used to be concerned with ameliorating the condition of the poor, whatever their energies or their character. The New Democrats of Clinton's party make very clear distinctions between those who play by his rules and those who

And just lu case any quibbling liberals complain that his 1992 promises were not meant to be financed by the wholesale pauperisation of women and children, the president can brandish the 20 per cent increase in the minimum wage. Along with the Earned Income Tax Credit of his first year in office, the minimum wage allows Clinton to boast that he has done more to improve the condition of the working poor than any president since Lyn- yet save their bacon, accordingly don Johnson. (What he is doing for the workless poor hardly bears thinking about.)

The extraordinary feature of this furry of legislation is that it was all passed by the Republicans, who are supposed to be united in their deternination to topple the Clinton presidency in November. But they are rather more keen on being reelected themselves, and understandably do not relish the prospect of facing the voters as a do-nothing

Since they could not pass their wn campaign promises to balance the budget, enact term limits and slash taxes on capital gains, they had to make do with passing Clinton's legislation. And since Clinton is at heart a centrist who believes in is thus indistinguishable from a liberal Republican in the Nixon-Eisenhower mould), the Republicans could have done a great deal worse.

They could, for example, have found themselves stuck with former Senator Bob Dole, who was supposed to be running a presidential election campaign until he was diverted by the chance to replay the



least Mondale rallied the old Democratic base of the unions, and at least Dukakis gave George Bush the occasional scare, and even nosed briefly ahead in the opinion polls.

Dole has yet to get within 15 points of Clinton, and the latest acquiescence of the Republican ongress in enacting the Clinton agenda suggests that his party has written off Dole's chances. There were two good reasons last week why they are so tempted to do so. First, the latest figures showed the economy slowing a little, enough at least to dissuade the Federal Reserve from increasing interest rates. The lingering threat of a calamitous plunge of the stock markets, one of the miracles that Republicans may

Second, the trial of two Arkansas bankers ended with the first real setback for Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel in the Whitewater matter. Charged with criminal breaches of the election finance rules in Governor Clinton's 1990 reelection, the bankers were acquitted of two serious charges, and a mistrial was declared on the rest.

Perhaps terrorism could provide he unexpected springboard for the Dole campaign, a sense of national vulnerability and fear, combining with a great frustration at the inability of Clinton to do much about it. I loubt it. The American public, which tolerates the annual deaths of some 20,000 of its citizens from handgun deaths, is not so squeamish that a few bombs provoke a fit gun toll, there would have to be two bombs each week of the scale of the Oklahoma City blast, or a jumbo jet downed every five days.

Moreover, the American people are intelligent enough to realise that Oklahama City, the bombing of their troop barracks in Saudi Arabut that vague word "terrorism". The United States is not faced with a vicious but somehow rational enemy with a political goal, like the IRA in its attacks on Britain, or the Al-l'atah terrorist strikes against lsracl and the world's airlines.

The US is beset with enemies both foreign and domestic. And unlike the Red Brigades who terrorised Italy or the Red Army Fraction which waged its nasty little campaign against West Germany, America's tormentors are intent on anonymity rather than publicity, on mystification rather than notoriety. This is very odd. Terrorists usually like to take credit for their crimes and win headlines for their causes. and make it clear that in return for certain concessions, the pain will

NE theory which is given currency at both the FBI and State Department is that a kind of Islamic International is coalescing around a core of veterans of the Afghan wars. There is no single nation or group or political novement that masterminds the campaigns, but a large and helpful sea in which the terrorists can swim. In short, it may be impossible o assemble any convincing evidence that the governments of Iran. Iraq, Libya or Syria (to name the suspects) are behind the attacks. But there is a kind of freelance help, in false papers and passports, in communications, and in access to plastic explosives and military detonators, that individuals or semi-detached departments of the intelligence agencies of these countries can provide.

lt is still not clear whether Libya. Iran or Syria can be sald to have been "behind" the bomb that downed the Pan Am jumbo jet over Lockerbie, Scotland, in December 1988. There is circumstantial eviworst features of the US medical system; the ability of insurers to fire their customers when they cease to be the kind of profitable risk the best formulation of the doomed Democratic behaving only be the kind of profitable risk the best formulation of the doomed Democratic behaving only between the doomed Democratic behaving only between the kind of profitable risk the behaving only and the doomed Democratic behaving only partial success in cajoling its allies into imposing a kind of quarantine common behavior of the doomed Democratic behavio

against those deemed to be rogue states. After its invasion of Knwait, lraq is still under international sanction, and so is Libya, for refusing to make available for trial two citizens wanted for trial on the Pan Am bombing. (The advocates of stern retaliation against states that sponsor terrorism often suggest that

Libya's Colonel Gadafy learned his in Johannesburg lesson after President Reagan sent SOUTH AFRICA'S African Na-tional Congress is being shaken the US air force to bomb his palace and his capital city of Tripoli in 1985. by the most serious leadership But such a claim sits uneasily alongsquabbles since it came to power in side the demand that Gadafy surthe 1994 majority rule elections. render his men for trial for a An extraordinary attack was terrorist attack in 1988.) made on its national leadership last

The US would like to quarantine week by a man recently sacked Iran, but the evidence against the from the government for implicatcountry is at best incomplete. Some ing an ANC cabinet minister in a intelligence sources suggest that seven-year-old bribery scandal. the evidence may be stronger against elements of Pukistani mili-General Bantu Holomisa, the for mer deputy minister of the environtary intelligence, which acted as the ment and tourism, suggested that main conduit of arms to the Afghan the ANC was in the pocket of the mojaliedin during the 1980s. controversial casino boss Sol

Given all this confusion, the US public seems unlikely to throw Clinton out of office simply because his presidency has coincided with America's age of terrorism. At least Clinton can claim that he tried, offering a new anti-terrorist bill that would encroach yet further on civil liberties by making it easier to tap telephones, and also by requiring "taggants" to be included in all commercial explosives. These are tiny trace elements, coded strings of very durable plastics, which enable police and forensic scientists to identify the source material of any

the anti-terrorist bill they passed last week, accepting the arguments of the National Rifle Association that taggants in explosives could affect the integrity of the black powder and other propellants used in ammunition. We have yet to hear any demands from the usual sources that the world should quarantine the gun lobby, or send the US sir force against its headquarters.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 7

Zimbabwe

mob defies

gay ruling

Somalia's wily warlord

Mohammed Farah Aideed

HE career of the Somali warlord Mohammed Farah Aideed, who has died aged 59, apparently of a heart attack after being badly wounded in militia fighting, was nurtured in 1950s

It germinated as the super powers played poker in the Horn of Africa in the latter days of the cold war — with guns as chips — and flourished as his country was torn apart by those weapons in the 1990s. His times came with the downfall of the Somalian dictator Mohammed Siad Barre in Japuary 1991. Aideed was the most famous of the warlords who have struggled for supremacy in that country's sixyear civil war. And his legacy haunts United States foreign policy to this day. The Gulf war may have been a brief triumph, Mogadishu was a lasting disaster.

Aideed attended an Italian military academy in the mid-1950s; police training in Rome followed, and by 1958 he was back in Somalia as Mogadishu's chief of police. In 1960 the country won its independence. In 1963 Aideed took a threeyear course at the Soviet War

Kerzner, who is at the centre of the

The row coincides with moves to

dismiss an important regional pre-

mier, Patrick Lekota, in a provincial

ANC power struggle that could

Gen Holomisa launched his at

ack on the ANC leadership in re-

sponse to the announcement that he

is to face "charges" at a forthcoming

disciplinary hearing. He is being ac-

cused of "bringing the ANC into dis-

repute" by alleging to the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission — in-

vestigating political crimes of the

Sigeau, shared in a R2 million

(\$445,000) bribe Mr Kerzner paid to

a bantustan leader in the 1980s for

gambling rights in the Transkei. Gen Holomisa told a Johannes-

burg press conference that Mr

Kerzner had helped to finance the

that it was well-known he had

funded social events for ANC lead-

ers, including the 50th birthday

party of the deputy president. Thabo Mbeki. He said the fact that

long-running bribe scandal.

have national repercussions.

David Beresford

Row over corruption

splits leaders of ANC



Aideed: Died trying to restore his waning power

chaos in 1969, The Somali Republic was rent by fragmentation and trib-alism, which climaxed with the scizure of power by Siad Barre. It was a time when the rhetoric of Soviet-style modernisation was still n vogue. Thus the country swing towards the Soviet sphere of influence, thus did the country become the Somali Democratic Republic, and thus did Siad Barre's mechanism of control become the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. And thus did Aideed briefly become the dictator's intelligence boss, but it

was an uneasy relationship. With the Somali invasion

return for favours.

daugluer Zinzi.

to have him expelled from the ANC.

Mandela made strennous efforts re-

cently to protect Gen Holomisa

from possible expulsion, with a se-ries of frantic telephone calls — one

to the general's home at 3am -

pleading with him to apologise to

Ms Sigcau for the bribery allega-

There are fears in some ANC

quarters that Mr Mbeki may also

have a hand in the efforts to unseat

Mr Lekota - and that it may be

part of a wider strategy by the

deputy president to get his support-

ers into key positions in anticipation

of his succession to the presidency when Mr Mandela retires.

Mr Lekota has been embroiled in a

ong-running dispute with other ANC

leaders in the Free State province,

who have already managed to force

him out of the provincial chairman-

also involves corruption allegations.

Mr Lekota was one of the most

done much to dispel possible ten-

tion. Gen Holomisa refused.

It is understood that President

Ethiopia in 1977 the Soviet link snapped - Moscow had aimed its money, influence and weapons towards Ethiopia -- and by 1980, Siad Barre had signed a defence agreement with the United States. During that period Aideed was in a Somali jail but in 1984 Siad Barre released him and soon he embarked on a diplomatic career, as ambassador to Turkey and India.

in 1989 Sind Barre recalled him from New Delhi but Aideed chose Italian exile, where he and other dissidents from his Hawiye clan formed the United Somali Congress; Aideed was the chairman. By then military catastrophe, the

end of the cold war, a refugee crisis and famine were rocking Siad Barre's regime. Coming out of Ethiopia, the USC fought its way (with the help of the northern guerrilla opposition) to Mogadishu, and eventually Slad Barre was chased out of the capital in 1991. But troops loyal to the dictator fought on and a power struggle between other factions within the USC and the Hawiye clan, between Aideed and his arch rival Ali Mahdi, erupted. Somalia, rich with cold war guns, turned into a wasteland.

In 1992 the United Nations organised a brief ceasefire. During that year, despite blocking tactics by Aideed and the raging war, its

tion Restore Hope" that Aideed's name featured in the international news pages. By the end of that month, 30,000 US and UN troops from 21 other countries had moved into Somalia. Reconciliation talks were promoted, the Americans pressed flesh with Aideed. He said 1993 Aideed's USC forces am-Pakistani soldiers. The UN forces declared him an outlaw. But seemingly indiscriminate violence by UN 18 US Rangers and one Malaysian soldier were killed in a US-led attack on Aideed's supporters. Subsequent demands for Aideed's ar-

tarian crisis. But it was in December 1992, with the US-led "Opera-

Aideed and his rivals. his own alliance fractured again. His death was one more in a cataclysm horn of economic collapse, regional and clan conflict and the catastrophic after-effects of East-West rivalry on the southern hemisphere.

Mohammed Farah Aideod (Hasson), waitord, born December 15, 1936.

Andrew Meldrum in Harare ↑ MOB stopped Gays and he would disarm but didn't. In June Lesbians of Zimbabwe (Galz) from opening their stand at the bushed a UN contingent, killing 23 country's international book fair at the weekend, despite a high court ruling days earlier confirming their right to exhibit the forces increased friction. One night in early October some 200 Somalis, group's literature at the fair. About 100 young men blocked the aisle in front of the Galz stand. "We don't want any homos in Zimbabwe." shouted one man, who would not give his rest were dropped. Seven months name. "We will smash them, we later, US forces withdrew from Sowill kill them." After two hours, malia. In 1995 the last UN forces pulled out, leaving the country to Galz representatives announced that because of inadequate secu-The war between Aideed rity they would not open their Malidi never ended. And when he stand. The crowd then turned or declared himself president last year, officials, journalists and bystanders, shouting at them and

accusing them of being home-The government banned Galz from having a stand at the fair. but the decision was overturned by the high court.

"We back our president, we don't want gays here," said Herbert Ushewokunze Jr, a public prosecutor who said he and come to the fair as a con-

The mob seems to have been nstigated by a handful of men, ome reportedly linked to President Robert Mumbe's party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF). Several of the men aid they were upholding tradi-

tional African values. "These gays are trying to change our way of life," said Tendai Musarurwa. "A wife who doesn't like to be told what to do can just tell her husband, 'No, I am comfortable being a lesbian.

We cannot accept that." Clearly Mr Mugabe has struck a homophobic chord among many Zimbabwean men. Male authority is still largely unquestioned here. In a society where parliamentarians continue to de oate whether it was wise to grant women the legal age of majority, gay rights are seen as even more hreatening to the status quo.

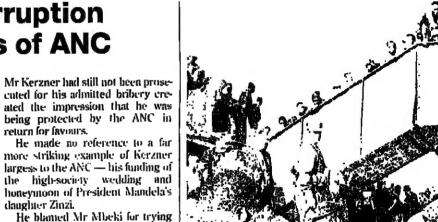
"Basically there is a strong nomophobic response in Zimbabwe because the public has been fed misinformation by the state media for years," said Galz's interim administrator. Kelth Goddard. "We are frustrated in our efforts at public information, which we believe vould bring more tolerance."

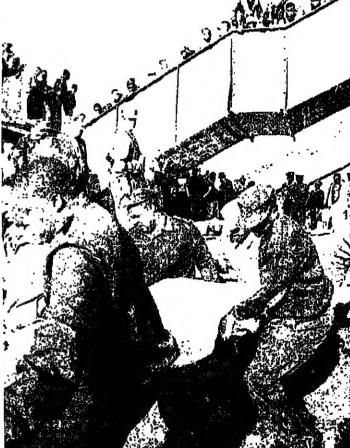
Although there is no doubt that Mr Mugabe's campaign against homosexuals is the reault of his own personal and religious beliefs, it is also an issue he has used for political gain.

After 16 years in power, his government is finding it difficult to rally support as it loses credibility and faces accusations of

"He is using gays as a scapegoat, to deflect attention away from our pressing econom problems and corruption," said Mr Goddard.

Other political analysts suggest that by attacking gays he is also undermining Zimbabwe's nascent human rights movement.





South African police remove a body from Tembisa station near Johannesburg after a stampede left at least 15 people dead and 65 injured. Security guards using potentially lethal cuttle prods are being blamed for the incident PHOTOGRAPH GARY BERNARD

African defence force in the commission criticised the ANC for respected leaders of the United De- apartheid years, and was at one mocratic Front, effectively the internal wing of the ANC in the 1980s. Transkel, is nevertheless extremely Keeping an Afrikaans bible by his bouldar with rank and file members bedside, and taking a keen interest of the ANC. Something of a loose ANC's 1994 election campaign, and | in rugby, he is credited with having | cannon politically, he has shown himself to be a master of intrigue.

sions with the deeply conservative The row over the bribery allegations has also created a rift between Afrikaners in the Free State. Gen Holomisa, who received his military training in the South Archbishop Desmond Tutu's truth to iron out their differences.

sacking Gen Holomisa, protesting that the government was creating the impression that he was being dismissed for testifying.

Mr Mandela promptly rebuked the commission, accusing it of interfering in the presidential prerogative to hire and fire ministers. The commission said last week it was seeking

Martin Weinwright, David Fairhall and John Vidal

OUR women peace campaigners left Liverpool crown court

jury cleared them of charges relat-

ing to £1.5 million worth of damage to a military jet which they attacked

The women had freely admitted the attack on the Hawk fighter at

British Aerospace's huge plant at

Warton, near Preston, where it was

one of 24 similar aircraft due for export to the military government in Indonesia.

The majority verdict vindicated

the protesters' largely home-made

defence: that the jet's export would flout repeated United Nations con-

lennations of Indonesian repres-

sion of the population of East Timor.

Indonesia's military invaded the

former Portuguese colony in 1975,

since when 200,000 people - more

than a third of the province's popula-

The court's decision was greeted

with passionate approval by civil

rights and church groups as a rare

example of the "higher cause" out-

weighing the ordinary considera-

Joanna Wilson, aged 33, and An-

tion — have died

ions of criminal law.

legislation against genocide.

in triumph last week after a

GUARDIAN WEBQY

Divorcees' pensions put on millennial backburner

CAMPAIGNERS for women's rights were elated this summer when the Government was forced to accept the proposition that di-vorces should be entitled to a share of their ex-husband's pensions. But they were enraged to learn last week that the change in law will not take effect until the year 2000.

More than half a million women are expected to get divorced between now and then, but they will not benefit from pension-splitting because the law will not be applied retrospectivel

The Social Security Minister. Lord Mackay of Ardbrecknish, said the change could not be made any earlier because his department's computer system was being modernised and could not cope with further complications.

Pension-splitting, which the Tories never wanted, was a concession wrenched from the Government by Labour as its price for supporting the controversial Family Law Bill. And now Labour suspects that the Government is dragging its heels because pension-splitting will deprive the Treasury of millions of pounds in tax revenue.

The Government had to be dragged screaming and kicking towards pension justice, said the shadow pensions spokesman, John Denham. Thousands of women who have contributed over the years to the sustenance of the home and family ... will now suffer poverty in retirement because of the

Sally Quin, of the divorcees' campaign group, Fairshares, said: "If commencement of pensions-splitting is a computer system, I don't think it's beyond the capability of the Government to find a way

HE Social Security Secretary, Peter Lilley, set up a telephone hotline — dubbed by critics as a 'snitchers" line — to urge the public to sneak on benefit cheats. His campaign is backed by a

snappy advertising slogan: "Know a benefit rip-off? Give us a telephone tip-off." By the end of the first day 1,654 callers had registered their

In order to save money, the department recently closed a £3.5 milion-a-year benefit helpline to aid hose who find it difficult to fill in forms to claim benefit. It is claimed that the new hotline will pay for itself if it reveals levels of fraud that were discovered in pilot areas where it was tested

Mr Lilley claimed that action against fraud among people claiming benefits had already produced savings of more than £1 billion last year. However, Labour called for a nuch bigger crackdown on private frauding housing benefit.

HE Prime Minister's promise to transform British sport in the light of the nation's poor Olympic performance was shattered as i emerged that government spending cuts threatened the future of sports coaching courses.

State funding will be withdrawn from courses preparing people for 1

"leisure-time occupations" unless they can be proved to be relevant

Only days before, John Major had promised £300 million a year mostly from the National Lottery to improve the nation's sporting prospects through a programme called Raising the Game. The Atlanta Olympics, he said, would be the last at which British athletes would have to struggle for financial

The Central Council for Physical Education admitted that many sports coaches were volunteers, but said that they relied on professional training offered by the kind of people whose courses were now being threatened.

Gold in need of brass, page 31

A DERBYSHIRE family won an 18-year campaign for justice when the killer of a teenager was iailed for life.

Michael Brookes, aged 51, was found guilty of killing 16-year-old Lynn Siddons in 1978, though the police had earlier refused to prosecute him.

Brookes's stepson, Fitzroy, was originally accused of the murder but was acquitted after he said that, though he had taken part in Lynn's killing, it was "on the instigation and under the control" of his stepfather. who dealt the fatal blows and strangled her.

Lynn's mother and grandmother finally got the case reopened by launching an unprecedented private claim for damages against Brookes the only thing holding back the in 1991. They were awarded £10,641 after Mr Justice Rougier said that he was left in "no reasonable doubt" that Brookes was the killer.

> THE motor industry is pressing the Government to scrap the system of changing car-registration prefix letters every year on August 1. As the prefix changed last week

to "P", thousands of status-conscious motorists rushed to showrooms at midnight to snap up a new set of wheels. Manufacturers are hoping that the desire to display the latest set of plates will push sales by the month's end to 485,000 - the highest August haul since 1989.

Up to a quarter of the year's sales are made in August, and the system calls for stockpiling of cars, makes demands on space and staff, distorts prices, and serves little purpose other than satisfying a feeling f one-upmanship.





lower power . . . PC Terry Johnson avoids the stink as the Titan Arum flower at Kew Gardens las week burst into bloom for the first time in 33 years. Its smell, caused when the flowers at the base of the central spike are fertilised, has been likened to rotting flesh, fish and burnt sugar

Handgun ban divides Tories

Alan Travis and John Arlidge

INISTERS and the police last week moved to disown six Conservative MPs who came out against a ban on the private ownership of handguns in the wake of the Dunblane massacre.

Dunblane parents led protests after the disclosure that the six have used their majority on the Commons Home Affairs Select Committee to oppose a ban when its gun controls inquiry reports on August 13.

John Crozier, whose five-year-old daughter Emma died at Dunblane, said: "These MPs appear to be considering the so-called rights of shooters. Instead, they should apply their minds to the civil liberties of our babies who were shot dead. What is more important, their right not to be shot by a state-sanctioned gunman or the right of someone to hoot a gun for fun?"

When the committee met in private to finalise its report, the Conservatives, including chairman Sir Ivan Lawrence, overruled the five Labour members who wanted a ban, The Labour MPs accused the Tories | would be impractical. The Police of caving into the gun lobby and plan a minority report.

The disclosure seemed only to strengthen the growing consensus between the police, Labour and, privately, many ministers in favour of a ban on heavy calibre handgups.

Michael Forsyth, the Scottish Secretary, told the six MPs they should have waited for the Cullen inquiry report into the mussacre in September. The Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) made clear it favoured a partial ban which would remove 210,000 of the 250,000 legally held handguns.

The offices of the six MPs - Sir Ivan (Burton), David Ashby (Leicestershire NW), Walter Sweeney (Vale of Glamorgan), Dame Jill Knight (Edgbaston), Warren Hawksley (Halesowen and Stourbridge) and John Greenway (Ryedale) were inundated with protests after the Sun newspaper printed their telephone numbers.

Mr Greenway, a former police officer, explained: "The Association of Chief Police Officers said a ban

Superintendents' Association told us it would be a serious restriction of civil liberties. We took the view that it is not legally held firearms that cause the problem in this com-

drea Needham, 29, of Liverpool, try. It is the way that firearms or-Lotta Kronlid, 28, of Oxford, and tificates are issued where the law Angie Zelter, 44, of Cromer, Norneeds to be strengthened." tolk, were cleared of plotting to But Jim Sharples, Merseyside damage the aircraft and causing acchief constable and Acpo spokesman, disowned Mr Green tual damage by wrecking its equipment. The verdict was greeted with way's argument, saving that although sobs of disbelief in the courtroom Acpo had said "a total prohibition of and cheers outside, where supporthandguns would be impractical", i ers had demonstrated throughout went on to back a prohibition on all but the 10 per cent of handgins which were used in lawful sporting

a calibre of less than .22. Earlier, the Home Office pub lished research demonstrating that levels of gun homicides are 50 times higher in the US than in England and Wales, and handgun homicides 150 times higher.

activities, were single shot and had

Richard Munday, editor of Hand gunner magazine, later claimed to have "destroyed the reliability"

Don't be frit, local dialects are thriving

A BEMUSED regional, national and world public is to get its first authoritative guide through the maze of English dialect words next month. writes John Ezard.

It tells where you should deploy the insult "addle-headed". where you should call a female cat a "betty-cat" and it pinpoints the area which nurtured Lady Thatcher's famous jibe against the Labour party — "frit, frit, frit".

The new dialect map shows that "frit" comes from a sliver of central England stretching down not only from Grantham, the baroness's birthplace, but from Nottinghamshire through Buckinghamshire almost to the Greater London border.

It is, the guide discloses, one of the most ancient of words, the elsewhere disused past tense of the Old English verb "to fright".

Similar words, so rarely used boundaries. "Goosegog", for that they have dropped off the gooseberry, crops up in small map, are "fritted" in Rutland and "fritten" in Shropshire. Two Old Norse words atill on the map, "flayed" and "scared", would have aprung to Lady Thatcher's lips had she been raised in the North or on the East Anglian coast. They date

from Viking invasions. These examples come for one of 90 pronunciation and dialect word maps in An Atlas Of English Dialects, to be published by Oxford University Press on September 15.

The book's moral is that dialect is astonishingly live and well in England, despite the standardising trends of television, newspapers, modern communications and mobility. The atlas shows how words

jump regional and county

pockets of Merseyside, the Bristol area, Dorset and east Devon. "Addle-headed" is listed only in Somerset and Gloucestershire, "Betty-cat" is purely East Anglian. The book is the fruit of the Survey of English Dialects, which began collecting words

1948. The survey focused on elhas been discreetly manufactur derly, rural, uneducated speak ers little influenced by radio or television. Though fieldwork ended in 1961, acholars have updated it with regional surveys "Every time someone says that dialect has all gone, this is

countered by new evidence that it persists," said Professor John Widdowson of Sheffield University's centre for English cultural tradition and language.

Peace women cleared over jet attack

Banner talk . . . 'Ordinary people see it's wrong to sell weapons to a genocidal regime. Yet the

sian government to the British

centre street, that they were "de-lighted and grateful" at the verdict.

The women argued that they The Catholic group Pax Christi said: "We are overjoyed that the "had lawful excuse to disarm Hawk jury has recognised the righteous-ZH955 because they were using reaness of the wonderful witness of sonable force to prevent a crime". Andrea, Jo, Lotta and Angie." They cited international and British

George Monbiot, the environmental campaigner, said of the verdict: "Its psychological and moral implications are enormous. There has been so much outrage about knives and handguns being used for violence, but here we have a deadly machine being made ready to kill thousands British Aerospace - which im-

mediately served civil injunctions on the women, who publicly tore them up outside the court - admit-The women told a jubilant throng | ted surprise at the verdict. The com-

f supporters, dancing in the city | pany said: "We operate in accor- | Joanna Wilson, which prompted agreement in court from Mr Justice dance with export licences granted by the Government. In addition we Vickham and the prosecution that the aims behind the protest were have no evidence that Hawk aircraft are used in a manner contrary to assurances provided by the Indone-Expert witnesses for the defence

> government." The court earlier heard how the women cut through Warton's sevenmile perimeter fence, entered a secure hangar and damaged the jet in 25 places, including weapons systems. They also left a 15-minute video in the cockpit, which was shown to the jury, explaining their notives, and rang a news agency

nmediately afterwards to say what they had done. The court heard a detailed defence from three of the women and barrister Vera Baird, acting for I tinue their campaign and revealed

"Aircraft are very fragile things,"

how easy it was to breach BAe's se-curity and how much damage could

pe done to a sophisticated aircraft

said Ma Needham, who gave up her job as a nurse to prepare for the direct action campaign. We hammered on the weapons control system in the cockpit and on the

wings and fuselage." The disarming of the Hawk, which followed a 2%-year conventional campaign which had had no impact on the Government or BAe, began at 3am on January 29 with the snipping of the perimeter fence.

"There was so much adrenalin going we just got on with it," said Ms Needham, "We were expecting to be caught at any moment and just tried to do it as fast as we

The four spent six months at Risley remand centre, where they were at first regarded as curiosities. "Outside, people were saying that we couldn't go round smashing up other people's property. But people in prison don't have hang-ups about that. They accepted that if planes are going to kill people, then you stop them.

When the case came to trial, three of the campaigners opted to

defend themselves. "We wanted to say in our own vords why we had done it and not have it translated by some barrister nto legalese . . . We could appeal to the jury on an emotional level. which a barrister could not do . . We were allowed to say quite a lot about East Timor and about our

"We were not just appealing to the jury on a moral or emotional level. In law, you can use reasonable force to prevent crimes. We left we

had a very strong case. "it's both a moral and a legal victory. Ordinary people can see that it's wrong to sell weapons to a genocidal regime. It's so clear and yet the Government and British Aerospace continue to think that it's

Brigadier joins village battle to keep arms out of Coat

Geoffrey Gibbs

T IS the sort of hamlet estate agents describe as "sought after". Properties rarely come on the market. When they do, they don't come cheaply.

Home to a mixed commun of farmers, professional people and senior military officers including Brigadier Robin Searby, commander of the British Forces in Bosnia three years ago — it is the very picture of English rural tranquility.

But the residents of Cost, iomerset (population 100), are urious about a company's plans to build an explosives magazine in a disused railway cutting on their doorsten.

ing a range of small arms ammunition on an industrial estate in the nearby town of Martock for 13 years. It needs to move to a more isolated site to expand its ousiness, about 95 per cent of which is done with overseas police and military customers.

Bob Lawson, the company's owner and manager, thought he had found the ideal site in the 400-yard long railway cutting to

the east of Coat, listed on council records as a waste tip. His application for an explosives factory licence under the 1875 Explosives Act secured the assent of Somerset county council last week after the Health and

Safety Executive approved. But there will be a battle royal when he submits his planning application to the local planning authority. "Nobody in the village will break the law but we are going to oppose this right down the line at every stage of the planning process," said a Coat esident.

Villagers say CS gas will be stored at the installation. Brigadier Searby said in a statement to the county council that the risk posed by the gas in the event of an accident.

"Given the correct wind vector and a breeze of only six miles an hour, the CS gas hazard would reach dwelling houses in the village within two minutes. Surely this cannot be acceptable."

Villagers are due to formulate an action plan at a meeting later this month and are printing T-shirts with a Keep Coat Bulletproof logo.

Chips are down for Mr Chips

arms trade

James Meikle

THE slow goodbye of Mr Chips means male teachers may have disappeared from state primary schools by early next century, a senior education official said last week.

Only one teacher in six in primary schools is now a man because of poor pay and prospects and because of working with young children is seen as women's work. The absence of adult male role

models, especially from one-parent families headed by women, is reinorcing concern about educational under-achievement by boys. The decline from the 1960s, when

man, is worrying education chiefs | suggest the percentage of men in | relate to us."

to be set targets for male recruits. Anthea Millett, chief executive of the Feacher Training Agency, revealed.

included the journalist John Pilger,

whose television documentary, "Death of a Nation", helped to in-

spire the East Timor Ploughshares

campaign, and Paul Rogers, profes-

sor of peace studies at Bradford

David Ward adds: The verdict

was denounced as perverse by

Michael Jack, Conservative MP for

Fylde. "The people of the North-west will think that what these peo-

The four women promised to con-

ple did was plain wrong."

University and an expert on the

"If boys are not being exposed to ome of the values that men may show, a competitive edge for example, maybe that might result in nder-achievement amongst some oys," she said.

Ms Millett said that on present rends, male primary teachers could lisappear by 2010 but "the last thing we want is more men coming into the profession who are not up to the

In secondary schools, men have slipped below half the teaching one primary teacher in four was a force. Figures for all state teachers

so much that training colleges are | England and Wales rose from 37 per cent in 1950 to around 40 per cent in 1960, 1970 and 1980, before declin-

right and acceptable."

ing to the old level by 1990. The Professional Association of Teachers' general secretary, John Andrews, said: "Schools are offering more part-time work and more short-term contracts, and these tend to attract more women than men."

Some men might also "unconsciously" be deterred from teaching young children because of the risk of allegations of abuse.

Nick Fell, the only male teacher among 15 women at Cliftonville county primary school in Kent, said: "Children need male role models and we have a need for children to

Marathon peal takes its toll

TSTARTED on the roads, then caught on in aupermarkets. Now the ubiquitous nineties' nhenomenon — rage — has breached the tranquil English countryside, Nick Varley

For the second time in a week beliringers have been subjected to an attack at odds with the Christian setting of their pastime.

Eight ringers in Blockley, Gloucestershire, were locked in

voked a neighbour to retaliate.

Meanwhile, earlier in the

week, Madge Mather, aged 64, took an axe to the belfry of St Swithin's Church in the village of Compton Bassett, 50 miles away in Wiltshire, saying: "I had a choice of going to prison or going mental. I am prepared to go to prison."

She hacked through the solid wooden door and cut the ropes used to ring the bells, which she claimed had made her life a wisery for 10 years.

In Blockley, when the group descended after an evening's quarter peal they found they had been locked in by a broom cunningly wedged against the door. For 45 minutes their ringing had sounded out over the parish but their cries for help went unno-

Something had to give and in the end it was the belfry door after a shoulder charge by ringer John Nicholls.

RUC orders

march to be

re-routed

Owen Bowcott

Guardian Reporters

HE Government was this week dragged back into the politically damaging row over privatisation excesses and "fat cat pay" following revelations that City and legal advice on the rail self-off programme has cost the taxpayer more than £450 million.

News of the huge fees collected by advisers to the Government, British Rail and Railtrack comes after revelations that directors of the recently privatised train leasing company, Porterbrook, are to pocket a windfall of nearly £80 million on the

sale of the company to Stagecoach. A former British Rail terminal manager, Sandy Anderson, is set to reap a bonus of £39.9 million made in only seven months from the sale of his train leasing company, to what was described by Labour as "the biggest privatisation scandal of

Mr Anderson, managing director of the Porterbrook leasing company, and three directors, will become multi-millionaires if Stagecoach, the bus and train operator, gets official clearance for its £475 million bid for the company. They were immediately nicknamed "fat cat controllers" by Labour's shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown.

During the seven-month period, Porterbrook has seen its original stake of C15 million increase by more than 500 per cent to £80 million.

When the company was set up last November, the staff put up £15 million of the £75 million initial equity, with the rest financed by the merchant bank, Charterhouse, and

BR was originally valued at £6.4

Railtrack, was eventually sold off for only £1.9 billion,

Labour - keen to put the Government under pressure on an issue which has proved a persistent political liability for the Conservatives immediately demanded that John Major and his ministers denounce the latest example of privatisation

Glenda Jackson, the party's transport spokeswoman, has written to the Prime Minister calling for an immediate clampdown on the newly privatised rail industry to ensure that the excesses of gas, water and elec-

tricity privatisation are not repeated. She warned that a refusal to condemn the latest examples of privatisation excess would provoke a "long hot summer" for Mr Major and his cabinet colleagues.

"British taxpayers are sick and tired of people being made instant millionaires at their expense. John Major should stop stroking the fat cats and start condemning them."

News that City bankers, lawyers and accountants working on rail privatisation have carned such huge fees was revealed in a written reply to Labour MP Gwyneth Dunwood from transport minister John Watts.

It shows that since 1992/93 British Rail has paid £278 million for legal, financial and accounting advice to prepare the industry for what is seen as one of the most com-

The Department of Transport, the Office of Passenger Rail Franchising and the Office of the Rail Regulator paid out a further £97 million, while Railtrack, the company which controls the national infrastructure of track and signalling, billion, but the core of its operation, | spent another £78 million on advice.

Treasury sweetens offices sale

David Henoke

HE Treasury is preparing to offer sweeteners worth hundreds of millions of pounds to ncourage property developers to conclude a £4 billion deal to buy the nation's social security offices before the general election.

Confidential letters reveal that

the Treasury has raised the question of handing over some of the Department of Social Security's estate as a "gift" to firms in return for companies spending millions of pounds on improvements, One plan to hand over the whole

estate for just £1 has been ruled out as "politically unacceptable". But the documents obtained by Derek Foster, Labour's shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, show that the Treasury is keen to consider other options involving low upfront payments to buy the offices, with the ministry participating in

ater property sell-offs. The letters reveal that the Treaview to rationalising provision.

The disclosure follows the passing of the DSS deadline for bids for the offices last Friday. The ministry is not disclosing how many of the 24 consortiums have bid, although John Beckwith, of Beckwith Property Fund Management - chairman of the Premier Club, where members pay £100,000 to dine twice a year with John Major - has decided this month not to go ahead.

The Treasury proposals, revealed letters circulating around Whitehall and sent to the DSS, come against a background of growing concern about the effectiveness of the Government's Private Finance Initiative, which encourages the private sector to take on the risk of government business.

A number of schemes, from privately financed roads to the Channel high speed rail link and private prisons, are under investigation by ship, to identify and capita the National Audit Office. Auditors development opportunities."

sury has demanded a review of bene-fit office space and locations, with a are looking at whether any deals involve the cheap sale of public

Ministers are concerned that the sale of the benefits office could slip beyond the next general election be cause of the complexity of sorting out all the title deeds and valuing the property. The present schedule already means that the exchange o contracts cannot be completed until September 1997, although the timescale allows ministers to complete a deal before the election committing the next government to handing over the property.

Mr Foster said: "We cannot com mit ourselves in advance of an election. We are anyway opposed to any sale of property that would involve offering private companies valuable assets at knock-down prices."

Natwest Markets advised the DSS: "There needs to be an element of short-term opportunism and entrepreneurial skills in the partnership, to identify and capitalise on



residence test | conference Labour fights for the browned-off voter

David Brindle

THE European Commission is investigating Britain's contro-versial "habitual residence" test to see if it inhibits the free movement of people within the European Union

Annette Bosscher, head of the Commission's social affairs division, says the working of the test introduced two years ago by Peter Lilley, the Social Security Secretary, to stop so-called bene fit tourists — is unsatisfactory. Claimants who fail the test are

denied benefit entitlement on the grounds their "centre of interests" lies elsewhere. The test bas, however, caught not only many continental Europenns but also Britons and people from the rest of the world: in 1995/96, 6,089 British citizens failed the test on return from oversens, as did 6,326 people from European Economic Area countries and 7,308 others.

The Commission has assessed the test and found it does not conflict with existing European law, However, Ms Bosscher has referred the matter to a "highlevel panel" which is considering the free movement of people within the EU.

EU questions | Short role at

CLARE SHORT — recently deprived of the transport portfolio by Labour leader Tony Blair is to chair a key session of the party's pre-election autumn conference in Blackpool, to the dismay of the leader's hypersensitive team of

spin doctors. Both will have to look the other way as Ms Short, now overseas aid spokeswoman, is expected to get a standing ovation from the party rank and file when she takes a number of sessions on policy during the

last two days of the conference. Ms Short promised to bring "gleam of light and independence" to the proceedings, by ensuring that the debates and the issues she pre-

Under the rules of the National Executive her years on the party's supreme body ensure she will play an increasingly large role in the annual conference over the next three

The last conference before a general election always has to be the most tightly controlled for the three main parties - with the aim of presenting a united front to the electurate and quashing dissent and

David Hencke

ABOUR'S secret summer weapons to woo cynical and un-tanned young people from the clutches of "lying Tories" are free sunglasses, a mini frisbee, a stick of rock and a whirly bat, writes David Hencke. From the sunny sands of

Benidorm to the mudilats of Gravesend, Labour will attempt to recruit the "lager lout" vote as large consignments of balloons, whirly hats and stick-on badges are pressed into the hands of frazzled British holidaymakers. For the more refined sunseeker

in Albufeira, Menorca and Alicante, free Labour leaflets can be clipped into a bulging Filofax to help insomniacs survive the afternoon siesta.

The latest appeal to Britain's outh was launched somewhat apologetically by three middle-aged politicians — deputy leader John Prescott, white-hearded Frank Dobson and a suitably untanned Mo Mowlam — at a London press conference.

Labour's promise to put up posters along the Costas dencing the Tories' £10 million "lies" campaign looked to be as successful as Neil Kinnock's infamous appearance on Brighton beach, where he fell into the sea. No dates and no sites were available from Labour's headquarters. Indeed, the only evidence of overseas activity was a fullpage advert in the Benidorm edition of the Sun.

● Labour is to break new ground in its annual accounts by declaring the names of its 17 biggest donors who have given the party more than £5,000 in the last

Hardline loyalists hit as UVF axes unit

HE loyalist ceasefire came under turther strain this week after the leadership of the Uister Volunteer Force took action against some of its hardline members and disbanded" one of its units in Portadown, Co Armagh.

The decision by the Belfast-based UVF leadership ends months of tension between them and loyalists in Mid-Ulster, some of whom took part in the Drumeree Orange parade

itansm and a resumption of violence by hardliners.

During the Drumcree stand-off a Catholic taxi-driver, Michael Mc-Goldrick from Lurgan, was murdered. The UVF, the Ulster Freedom Fighters and the Red Hand Commando all denied involvement, but loyalist and RUC sources ston and stamped with the UVF in pointed the finger of suspicion at | signia - For God and Ulster. Mid-Ulster elements.

In Belfast two local journalists were read a statement by 10 armed

read: "As a result of a preliminary investigation into a Portadown unit attached to the Mid-Ulster Brigade of the Ulster Volunteer Force, a decision has been taken by the command staff of the UVF to disband this unit as from August 2, 1996." It was signed Captain William John-

There was no immediate response from Portadown lovalists asdamaging squabbles whenever they last month. It also brings closer the potential for a split within loyalist from the command staff of the UVF ing outside the umbrella leadership became a more distinct possibility. sociated with the UVF, but the prospect of a breakaway group acttion. The statement claiming to be ing outside the umbrella leadership

Post Office loses monopoly

HE Home Secretary, Michael Howard, suffered another setback when three Appeal Court judges found him guilty of a catalogue of unfairness in imposing a 15-year minimum term on the boy killers of two-year-old James Bulger. moving against striking pub-lic service workers with the an-

In Brief

ABOUR suspended five members of Hackney council in London, including the mayor. in an attempt to restore discipline. The clampdown followed an investigation into serious allegations against councillors.

ORE THAN 2,000 jobs will be created by a £40 million EU package to regenerate deprived areas of five British cities: Manchester, Sheffield, Nottingham and Glasgow.

HE first pictures from a £2 million inquiry into the sinking of the bulk carrier Derbyshire, which lies at a depth of 2½ miles in the Pacific Ocean, have been shown to relatives of the 44 victims.

STEVEN MITCHELL, aged 44, became the first Briton to be jailed for child abuse in the Philippines as the authorities sent warned that sex tourism would no longer be tolerated.

A WOMAN who wants one of the healthy twins she is carrying to be aborted was offered more than £50,000 to keep both her babies. The woman, aged 28, already has one child and says she cannot afford two more.

AN HAWORTH, the head of a charity that monitors cults and self-improvement groups, has been made bankrupt by a £20,000 libel action by Landmark Education, a Californian organisation he criticised in Canada 14 years ago.

ETER McMULLEN, a former Parachute Regiment cook who deserted in Northern Ireland at the height of the Troubles, pleaded guilty to the IRA's bombing of Ripon barracks in north Yorkahire 22 years ago.

ILLIONS of telephone num bers will have to change within the next five years, only 16 months after the last revisio

OLICE investigating the murder of a British schoolgirl in France are ruling out the nan who confessed to the crime after DNA tests proved he could not have carried out the attack.

THE Channel tunnel recorded its best month yet in July, transporting more than 240,000 cars and some 54,000 trucks.

G EOFF HAMILTON, cherished as a solid earthunder-the-fingernails gardener by millions of television viewers has died at the age of 59.

HE Government on Monday nouncement that it was lifting the Post Office's letter monopoly from midnight, as the Communication Workers' Union announced four ing further 24-hour stoppages.

These will run from 3am to 3am

new 24-hour postal strikes. In a move calculated to raise the political stakes in the escalating in-dustrial disputes in Royal Mail and and September 2.
Post Office managers renewed the London Underground, Ian Lang, the Trade and Industry Secretary,

on mail costing less than £1 for a He warned that if strikes continued, he would extend the suspension for a further three months.

confirmed its intention

Last week Mr Lang revealed that the Government was considering new curbs on trade unions in response to the outbreak of strikes, in-cluding the possibility of making

Moynihan to

reputation

restore family

Moynihan walked victorious

from the High Court last week, de-

claring himself likely to inherit the

family peerage and promising to

wipe out the disgrace left by his

brothel-keeping relative. Lord

"It is a very important motive for

the rest of my life to restore and re-

cover what was once a great family

The legacy of disgrace came from the late Lord Moynihan, his half-

brother, who "rollicked in deceit like a pig", according to a family friend. Mr Moynihan said: "He was

one of life's bad apples." Lord Moynihan who died in 1991,

fled from Britain to the Philippines

The judgment de-legitimises his last child, Daniel, aged six, and an-

nuls his marriage to the boy's Filip

leaves his fourth wife, Editha Ed-

uarda, poised to inherit part of his

British estate plus a Manila vice for-

tune of up to £3 million. But DNA

evidence in the case led the judge,

Sir Stephen Brown, to accept her

son Andrew, aged six, was not fa-

ina mother, Jinna, his fifth wife.

in 1970 facing 57 charges.

Moynihan, writes John Ezard.

name," he said.

The latest announcement came after Alan Johnson, CWU general secretary, had declared that Royal Mail's refusal to reopen negotiations over its plans for American-style "teamworking" had left the union's executive " little alternative" to call-

on August 14, August 22, August 30

their call for the CWU to put the package negotiated at the concilia said he was breaking the monopoly tion service last month - which includes a procedure to introduce teamworking through local trials to a ballot of the membership. In return for the exclusive state

franchise the Post Office is obliged to deliver to every address in the United Kingdom at a uniform price.

Post Office managers, the unions and Opposition politicians fear that a permanent suspension would

unions financially liable for disruption to public services.

allow private firms to "cherry pick" the most profitable routes, which the most profitable routes, which mote areas.

The CWU believes that "teamworking" proposals — dividing local offices into competing groups, who would have to cover for each other and continuously improve performance — would mean extra work for a new basic wage of only £211 a week, set postal worker against postal worker and undermine the influence of the local union.

The response of private companies has been disappointing for the Government. Andrew Fitzmaurice, development director for the parcel carrier, TNT, said he would be delighted to take over the Post Office's delivery business, but not on a

temporary basis.

Royal Mail has shot to the top of the popularity stakes in a survey of 12 public utilities and services published this week by the National planning to parade through a Catholic flashpoint in Belfast at the weekend have been re-routed by the police in an attempt to forestall vioence 70 miles away in Londonderry. The Royal Ulster Constabulary ban was being presented as an attempt to ease sectarian tensions and help broker a deal between loyalist marchers and nationalist residents across the province.

ROTESTANT Apprentice Boys

But community talks broke up without resolution in Londonderry on Monday where 10,000 Apprentice Boys and 180 bands are planning to walk the length of the fortified walls on Saturday for the traditional commemoration of the city's 11-month resistance to King lames's besieging forces in 1689.

Catholic residents in the Bogside object to the parade which, they claim, is provocative. Mediators hope there will be a compromise. avoiding the outbreak of widespread rioting which accompanied the four-day stand-off before the Orange Order parade at Drumeree, near Portadown, last month.

The police decision to re-route he Apprentice Boys' feeder parade. which passes through the Lower Ormean Road in south Belfast before marchers are bused to Londonderry, infuriated loyalists.

But Assistant Chief Constable Bill stewart said: "Anything which can be done to remove any possibility of confrontation should be grasped. We hope the re-routing will be accepted by everyone concerned."

Oflot chief criticised

David Hencke

ETER DAVIS, the National Lottery regulator, made "scrious errors of judgment" in accepting seven free flights on corporate jets and helicopters owned by GTech, an American company with a large stake in running the game, MPs said last week.

A highly critical report from the Commons public accounts committee says it "regards it of vital impor-tance that the director general should be seen by the public to be completely impartial and at arm's length from the lottery operator, its shareholders and those with finan-

The MPs were "unimpressed" by Mr Davis's orgument that he had accepted the free flights only after he had announced his decision to award the licence to Camelot, "The director general has a continuing responsibility to regulate the lottery.

The committee — whose questioning exposed the free trips paid by GTech for Mr Davis and his deputy, Diana Kalın - says the whole exercise was "unwise".

The MPs said they had been concerned over doubts raised about GTech's fitness to be involved in the lottery. These included suggestions of undesirable business practices by GTech in obtaining lottery contracts in the US, including alleged corrupt payments in California and New Jersey.

thered by Moynihan. This would disqualify him as heir to the title. Commons seat at the next election if he fails. Minister warns BBC about changes

Mr Moynihan said the judgment

made him "more, rather than less,

likely" to inherit the title. He hoped

for a Lords privileges committee

ruling by October, in time to seek a

HE BBC was warned on Monhad ensured its character and quality had been preserved.

The FO minister Jeremy Hanley said any changes introduced by the BBC before a joint working party with the Foreign Office reported next month could not be regarded

"If the BBC choose to make management changes or certain appointments in that time scale then there is the understanding that | tic directorate. they could be reversed if the quality

day that changes to the World | the working group last month after Service should not be "cast in a meeting with Sir Christopher stone" before the Foreign Office | Bland, the BBC's chairman, It will assess the impact of the BBC's plan to merge the service's English language and news programmes with domestic departments.

The BBC has said that work will proceed on the changes, but implementation is not due until next April. It has aiready appointed senior World Service personnel to oversee the merger of news departments with BBC News, the domes-

Mr Hanley reiterated the Governand the ethos of the World Service | ment's concern over the lack of con-

Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign should recognise that nothing Secretary, ordered the setting up of | should be cast in stone before we had the opportunity to make sure that the quality and special character of the World Service had been protected."

Sir Stephen annulled Editha's

divorce from Moynihan at a Tun-

bridge Wells court in 1990. He

found the peer had her signature

forged on court papers and put up an elaborate, but false, pretence that

BBC, but the Foreign Office as paymaster needed to maintain the service's quality. "There has to be the proper priority which serves our audience and not just serves the convenience of the BBC."

Readers with Internet access can follow the World Service debate on our alte at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/



A BOSNIAN CRISIS has once again put Western countries on the spot. The US president has been humiliated because of a powerful regional leader: an ultimatum has been defied, leaving mediators uncertain whether to carry it out and perhaps precipitate a wider breakdown. This time it is not Radovan Karadzic and the Bosnian Serbs who are thumbing their noses. It is the Bosnian Croats and Franjo Tudjman, president of independent Croatia whose premature recognition by Germany — followed by the European Union was the prelude five years ago to disaster. Mr Tudiman compounded the injury by blackmailing Washington into giving him a personal interview with Bill Clinton — and then falling to deliver the goods. His 15 minutes last week in the Oval Office produced the pictures and the handshakes that feed the ego of this vain quasi-dictator. In return he was supposed to bring his Bosnian Croat protégés into line so that they would accept the result of the July elections in divided Mostar and start dismantling their self-proclaimed statelet of the "Croatian Republic of Herzeg Bosnia". Both goals are now in doubt.

The same pattern has been followed as in so many confrontations with the Bosnian Serbs and their back-door boss, President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia. First there is apparent agreement by the principals. Then there is a mood of optimism amid reports that talks are "making progress". Finally there is despair as local clients refuse a reasonable compromise. Breakdown on a specific issue also threatens resolution of a much larger one - in this case whether the results of approaching Bosnia-wide elections will be treated with the same contempt.

As previously, it may still be possible to finesse some sort of deal at the thirteenth instead of the eleventh hour: this can be the Bosnian way of getting things agreed. But the EU's mandate will have been weakened for the future. If the issue really were the stated one of irregularities in the Mostar election, there would be agreement already. The EU offered several concessions, but at root the Croatian objection is based on a much more serious claim: the Bosnian affiliate (HDZ) of Mr Tudjman's ruling party insists that Mostar is "historically Croatian" and that it is the capital city of all Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their whole election campaign was run on the proposition that the town should remain divided on a strictly ethnic basis.

Splits among the Bosnian Croats may have in-tensified Croatian opposition to the election result. So may the influence of the Croatian maila, described by the EU special envoy Sir Martin Garrod in healthily undiplomatic language as "scum" who rule by terror and must be "cleared out". But the Zagreb regime claims the glory for Croatian resurgence and must take the responsibility too. As the former EU team leader Hans Koschnick argues, US and German strategy to make Croatia their key ally in the Balkans fatally undermines pressure on the president. The goal of a properly functioning Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia, essential to the Dayton accord, will never be achieved until Mr Tudiman himself is threatened with isolation.

Taking the tigers by their tails

WHEN murderous and corrupt leaders are brought to book — as is now happening in a Seoul courtroom - the balance of past injustice tips a little the other way. It is 16 years since hundreds died in the Kwangju massacre, which former presidents Chun Doo-hwan and Roh Tne-woo are accused of mastermi scale, funded by South Koren's giant chaebol conglomerates, has been around for even longer. However late, accounts must be settled before any democratic transition can be completed. With luck the fate of these two once immune powerful figures, which is likely to be decided this week, will cause Asian autocrats from Beijing to Burma to quake with apprehension.

Some kind of regional trend may begin to be discerned. The end of the cold war weakened the conventional case for Western-sponsored dictatorship and also placed into question Japan's one-party democracy. Rising living standards create new Bob Dole's anti-welfare pitch to the electors.

middle classes that chafe at old-fashioned repression. The downside of globalisation — a widening sion. The downside of globalisation — a widening gap between rich and poor and expanding areas of exploitation — also leads to unrest. Voices of protest, from within these countries as well as from outside, are transmitted more clearly. Horrendous events such as the Beijing, Rangoon and Dili massacres have sensitised public opinion and the international media. The "dinosaura" who atili rule are more clearly exposed.

Yet we should be cautious about declaring ar outbreak of economic and political justice across Asia. The news from Indonesia only wins headlines because the Suharto regime has remained unchallenged for so long: his critics are still vulnerable to jail and worse. The Burmese junta may have eased the pressure on itself by releasing Aung San Sau Kyi from house arrest. While hundreds of her supporters remain in prison, only a few foreign companies are thinking twice about inward investment. And in South Korea, the drive against the former presidents is not unconnected with the desire of the present incumbent, Kim Young-sam, to improve his own image, also tarnished by the receipt of chaebol funds.

Oppression in Asia no longer takes the invariable form of military repression: the market for juntas is diminishing. But the doctrine of neo-authoritarianism, mediated through tame political institutions has represent appeal. Western former institutions, has powerful appeal. Western govern-ments have come to terms with China's version of it. For millions of Asians, the real issues are not so much formal democracy or its absence. They are those of everyday corruption, unsafe working conditions, mounting drugs and crime, and a huge rich-poor gap. To tackle all these will require a real

For New Deal. read raw deal

BILL CLINTON's promise in the 1992 presidential campaign to "end welfare as we know it" is turning out to be all too true. As the next election approaches he has bowed to a Republican Congress, signing a bill that abolishes the federal safety net set up after the Depression to protect those most at risk. Now the burden shifts from Washington to the state governments, some of whom will seize the chance to cut their own welfare programmes further. Bizarrely, the president agrees that the bill contains "serious flaws". He laims to have huddled for two and a half hours last week with members of his cabinet in an agony of indecision before deciding to sign. He describes this meeting as being "a very moving thing". The people most likely to be moved, by rage or despair, are those who will suffer as a result.

get. Those who have run out of benefit in states

with an anti-welfare philosophy will simply migrate

to those which continue to provide some support.

The big urban centres will become even more bur-

dened than before. These fundamental omissions

in the new system are compounded by the punitiv

cuts that it contains. The food stamp programme

has been ripped apart, and disabled children and

poor immigrants will suffer serious losses of enti-

tlement. Mr Clinton has said he will work for the

reversal of some of these cuts after he has signed

the bill: his chances of success with a victorious

Mr Clinton has argued that the bill is at least

less had than before it is no longer linked to cuts

in Medicare and represents a "real step forward".

What it really represents, as the Washington Post

said last week, is "political expediency and oppor-tunism", with the president seeking to neutralise

Congress will be even lower than before.

The original thrust of Mr Clinton's campaign proposal four years ago was to provide new jobs for many of those out of work and funds to enable them to be trained, so that the huge federal budget could be cut as "welfare checks were replaced with paychecks". But the bill that has now been passed cuts the welfare without guaranteeing the work-fare. A progressive state such as Wisconsin may continue with its own innovative scheme while others choose not to do so. A few states may compensate for reduced federal welfare funding. Others such as California are already welcoming the chance to reduce their own budgets. There is no mandatory provision for poor families whose enti-"Shake it out! You can do it!" tlement expires. Not surprisingly, New York City's mayor, Rudolph Giuliani — although a Republican — has been lobbying for weeks against the bill, which will further tax his already overloaded bud-

In the Olympics according to NBC, the rest of the world assumed the proportions of a lilliputian supporting cast, the hapless Washington Generals to America's Harlem Globetrotters. Frequently, non-US athletes were not even ex-Michael Johnson won the first leg as live - all so they co commentator deigned even to men- with post-Olympic depression; now bronze medallists. Never mind that greatness. After the break). the real race was always going to be for second place, or that Britain's Roger Black had just run the 400m of his life - there was last week, and advertisers are only one American story here.

One way that foreigners could edge their way into NBC's Olympic soap was by surmounting a number of suitably telegenic tribulations, modern gas preferably ones that underlined the his grave.

Driven to despair by NBC's schlock tactics

The push to maximise television advertising revenue meant coverage of the Atlanta Olympics was the soaplest ever. lan Katz feels bilious

COULD tell you a few things about the Centennial Olympics. I could tell you that the wife of Belarussian gymnast Vitaly Scherbo almost died in a car accident, that the US diver Mark Lenzi suffered rom acute depression after winning gold in Barcelona and that 14-year-old US swimmer Amanda Beard still travels with a teddy

men's 1500m or the water polo or the hockey or the women's marathon. All I could tell you about these events is that the winner was not an American and he or she does not have a heart-rending story to tell. Otherwise they would have been on NRC.

The American television network's coverage of the Atlanta Games has left even ardent patriots secretly yearning for a return to the cold war. Forced to endure an endless succession of gauzy personal melodramas in the name of ratings, even the most sentimental devotees of American soap opera are feeling a little bilious. Leni Riefenstahl had

nothing on NBC. We always knew it was going to be tough: the first Games without the healthy counterweight of a second sporting superpower and on US soil to boot. But no one suspected it would be this bad. So exclusive has NBC's focus on US athletes been that you might de-duce that the Olympic rules had been changed to require that the host nation's anthem be played at every medal ceremony regardless of the event's results.

The network's coverage of US competitors has been painful in its thoroughness. Strategically placed microphones allowed us to eavesdrop on every horribly self-conscious conversation between an athlete and his or her coach. When Kerri Strug's ruthless coach Bela Karolyi told countless interviewers that he had asked the hobbled gymnast whether she could manage one more vault, we knew he was fibbing. We had heard him bellow at her:

unpleasantness of America's former cold war enemies. Thus Ana Quirot, the Cuban 800-metre star badly burned while washing her hair with alcohol, was the subject on one of the network's soft-focus profiles, the narrator observing that "whatever you think of her politics" you had to admire her courage.

Similarly, John Tesh, whose day ob is to present one of the more fatuous tabloid entertainment tele vision shows, gravely related how the Russian gymnast Roza Galiyeva had to pretend to be injured when her coach replaced her in the allround competition at the Barcelona Games. "Galiyeva was a victim of the Soviet system," observed Tesh. "Medals meant honour. What was air was not even discussed."

NBC's coverage was co-ordinated by its sports chief, Dick Ebersol, who relied on the theories of his research director, Nicholas Schiavone, to target women viewers. For Schiavone, women approach sports "from the inside out", via empathy with characters, not results; they want "not sports but stories about sports". Perhaps rashly, he told the New Yorker that "with apologies to Jane Austen, our version of the Olympics is about sense and sensibility".

In practice, NBC's Olympics was closer to an especially schlocky mini-series, with viewers forced to endure the faux solemnity of Bob Costas, a man who would be isincere at his own funeral ("only in our dreams can we play with the angels and dance on air", he intoned, introducing the diving between bouts of canned pseudolive action and gloopy athlete profiles. But the network has been rewarded with dream ratings. During the first 11 nights of coverage, a full 43 per cent of American households sat glued to the Olympics, 24 per cent up on the Barcelona Games ratings and four times the share of its nearest competitor.

OST natisfying of all for Ebersol and Schiavone, the injection of daytime chat show values into sports broadcasting delivered the right audience. During the first week, in which Ms Strug and her telegenic team-mates dominated NBC's coverage, 50 per cent of viewers were women, 35 per cent men and 15 per cent children.

By last week there were signs of a backlash. "I am watching the Olympic Games on NBC, and I am gagging," wrote Washington Post commentator Charles Krautnammer, lamenting "the unbearable, indeed shameful, chauvinism of the coverage". The New York tended this privilege: when ception of passing off taped events Times was concerned with the dehis historic double last week, a into the rousing NBC script (first full five minutes passed before the meet poor Mark Lenzi, grappling tion the names of the silver and watch him fight his way back to

> Not that such carping will dampen the high spirits at NBC. Ratings showed no sign of slipping pleased as punch. Even better, the network has a contract to televise the Games until 2008. Pierre de Coubertin, the instigator of the modern games, must be spinning in

The Allies let Switzerland keep a hoard of looted gold in 1945. Jewish groups now want it back. Martin Walker reports HESE days, 100 tons of pure

gold is worth more than \$1 billion. It depends on the price set each day at the Zurich gold narket. And the Swiss ought to They took in 100 tons of gold

from Nazi Germany in 1943 alone, knowing perfectly well that it was stolen. It came mostly from the vaults of conquered banks, and some of it was ripped from the teeth of the dead in the concentration

In the course of the second world var, the Swiss banks took in some

360 tons of Nazi gold.

That is one stunning fact from a ascade of documents which has been de-classified from the US National Archives over the past two months. Because of these papers, much of the conventional history of the second world war and its aftermath will have to be re-written.

From the central banks and comnercial banks and art galleries and jewellers' shops across Europe, from the safe deposit boxes and from the estates of the doomed Jews, the Nazis pillaged the wealth of the Continent.

They then sent it to the Swiss for laundering, for converting into foreign investments and purchases and for safe-keeping. Enough of the money stuck to become, for the Swiss, an extraordinary financial bo-

The total sum of German plunder that went through Switzerland was

greater than the country's annual.
On April 1, 1945, as Adolf Hitler took to the Berlin bunker that became his grave and the Reich crum-bled around him, "The Swiss agreed with the Germans to accept another 3,000 kilos of gold for use against diplomatic services'," according to Aubouin, general manager of BIS.

BIS was, and still is, the Bank of International Settlements. Three thousand kilos is worth about \$36 million. That quote comes from a telegram sent direct to the US secretary of state in Washington from the American legation in Berne. More than 51 years after it was sent, the telegram was finally de-classified by the Americans It April this year.

The legation, run by Allen Dulles, the legendary future boss of the Central Intelligence Agency, was the main centre of American espionage in Europe. One of its main jobs was to track the economic sinews of the Nazi state, which to an extraordinary degree, meant its use of the Swiss banking system.

Immediately after its de-classificable was pushed across a table at the offices of the Swiss Bankers' As- the International Red Cross, that sociation in Berne by a tall, slim man with piercing blue eyes, and a for its fallure to speak out against

His name is Israel Singer. As secretary general of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) he proceeded to tell the assembled Swiss bankers what he intended to do to them unless they came clean about the way their predecessors had handled the Nazi loot.

Beside him sat Edgar Bronfman,



Exposed: the Swiss trail of Nazi gold

of the WJC. Bronfman was determined to get some money to the impoverished remaining Jews of eastern Europe while they were alive to enjoy it.

Singer and Bronfman were qui etly furious. Ever since 1945, the Swiss had a way of brushing aside inquiries, and in particular of fending off the heirs of Jewish cus-

In 1946, to get their assets in the US and Britain unfrozen, the Swiss pald 250 million Swiss francs. At roughly \$60 million, it was a modest enough price to get the victorious Allies off their backs. In 1962, the Swiss had announce

they had found 961 accounts which had belonged to Jewish clients, containing a total of 7.5 million Swiss francs. This was returned, along with a 2 million franc donation to Swiss Jewish communities. In 1988, in response to another

announced a \$40 million donation to the Allied probe into the fate of the totem of Swiss neutrality, notable the Holocaust. "It was a gift from those who did not own, to those who did not deserve it," said Singer. In February, the Swiss came up with another unilateral payment,

Singer. This time, the Swiss underestimated the competition.

\$31.9 million, to fend off the latest

campaign from Bronfman and

the heir to the vast Seagram for-tune, new owner of the MCA-Universal studio, but also chairman publican Senator Alfonse D'Amato, chairman of the Senate banking committee, who promised to hold public hearings into the Swiss loot.

> Then with more political pressure, the comptroller of the city of New York, who influences some \$30 billion in pension funds, wrote to the Swiss Bankers' Association to suggest their reputation as a fit and proper place for international funds vas in question.

Discreetly, the Swiss were told through diplomatic channels that the Clinton administration was prepared to smile on any private law suits brought against their banks in

HEN, as Senator D'Amato scheduled his hearings, Elan Steinberg of the World Jewish Congress in New York reported that his team of researchers had hit gold in the National Archives. They had come across the files of somethe Union Bank | thing called Operation Safehaven,

There was so much material more than 100,000 files, that he called in extra researchers from the Holocaust museum. It went far bevond the laundered gold, and even beyond the \$600 million in 1945 dollars that US Intelligence reckoned that the Germans had stashed away n Switzerland.

There was evidence that the Swiss had allowed the Nazis to use

from the vaults of the British-owned Westminster bank in Paris.

Above all, there was the first real evidence, in a French Deuxlème Bureau intelligence report that came from the files of General Eisenhower's HQ, that one of the great legends of the war had been real.

At the source of countless novels and several films, from The Odessa File to The Boys From Brazil, lies the claim that there had been a secret plot to arrange the funding and secure the rebirth of Nazism after Hitler's defeat.

There it was, including the names of the executives from Krupp, Rheinmetall, Brown-Boverl, Messerschmitt, Volkswagenwerk, and SS Obergruppenführer General Doktor Scheid. The meeting took place at the Hotel Rotes Haus in Strasbourg on August 10, 1944.

"From now on, German industry must realise that the war cannot be won and it must take steps in preparation for a -post-war commercial campaign," General Scheid began. "Existing financial reserves in

foreign countries must be placed at the disposal of the [Nazi] party so that a strong German Empire can be created after the defeat." These were the documents

packed into Israel Singer's briefcase s he confronted the Swiss bankers. Most of them were still stumped "secret". One by one, he laid them on

One of his favourites came from a de-briefing by US intelligence agents of Dr Landwehr, who during the war had been director of the for eign exchange department of the Reich economics ministry. By 1946, he was living in the Soviet sector of Dorling working for the Berlin city government.

The report says: "Dr Landwehr estimates that, all in all, the sum of German assets which passed into Switzerland amounted to at least 15 billion Reichsmarks. Landwehr dismissed with an ironic smile the Swiss estimate of 1 billion RM. I could not conceal my astonishment and asked him to explain this

Dr Landwehr proceeded to spell out the way in which this had been done, from direct sales of gold, through more complex ways to get around the neutrality rules. His con-clusion was clear: "Whereas all the neutral countries, out of consideration to their laws of neutrality, had refused to accept gold ('Goldbestanden') from the Reichsbank, Switzerland carried on gold transactions with the Reichsbank until the beginning of 1945."

Then Singer laid down his trump card, a series of cable intercepts. The cables had been sent from Crédit Suisse and the Swiss Bank ing Corporation to banks in Madrid, Lisbon, Shanghai, Stockholm, Islanbul and Tokyo.

The cables had all been sent in the course of 1944. They were proof not only that the Swiss banks were breaking the rules for neutrals laid down by the US and British authorities. They were also breaking the Swiss government's own code of conduct for banking in war time.

This meant they could expect no legal protection even in Switzerland. Moreover, while every other piece of evidence from British and US inelligence could be dismissed as hearsay by the lawyers, the cable intercepts were hard proof.

money-laundering operation, for funds from banks in Hungary and Romania and other parts of Europe occupied by the Germans, and acting as the Nazis' international

At that point, the Swiss caved in. For the first time, they agreed to grant outside researchers "imfettered access" to their account books and files, and to establish a joint commission with the WJC to track down and restore the Jewish funds.

But beyond that basic and belated justice, there is a deeper accounting to be made. The evidence from Operation Safehaven suggests that something of the order of 15 billion Reichsmarks was banked, invested, moved and laundered through Swiss banks. That was the equivalent of 3 per cent of the America's GDP in 1944. To put this into today's terms, 3 per cent of America's GDP is \$200 billion, which is more than the entire GDP of Switzerland. Allow for interest, compounded over 50 years, and the value of that Nazi loot that went through Switzerland moves into the region of a trillion dollars.

The immediate questions concern the wherenbours of the money and how much of it the World Jewish Council can legitimately demand on behalf of the heirs of Enroue's slaughtered Jews.

There are two further magging questions. How did the Swiss manage to keep the scale of their co-operation quiet for so long? And why did Britain and the US let them get away with it?

The treasure trove of National Archive documents comes almost wholly from Allied sources, from



Israel Singer: fighting the Swiss for the return of Jewish money

intelligence and diplomatic reports, and from the well-informed but little known intelligence arm of the US Treasury.

In June 1941, five months before the US entered the war, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau had sent a covert team of Treasury agents into the offices of the main Swiss banks in New York, and obtained a full list of their clients and all their holdings, cash and securi-ties. It is five inches thick.

The Allies knew how long, and how closely, and how lucratively, the Swiss had worked with the Nazis. Even when the British and Americans settled in 1946 for the sation, they knew the real sums in-

volved were 50 to 100 times greater. "It's just speculation, but there was a vast American slush fund created in Europe at this time to start waging the cold war, the money to swing the Italian elections, to stop the Communists in Western Europe," said Mr Steinberg. "Maybe that was the deal, that the Swiss paid out some of the Jews' money to light the cold war. Who knows? But that money went somewhere. And a Bronfman went to the White the diplomatic pouch of the International Red Cross, and that the Swiss land were acting as a gigantic And we are going to get it back." lot of it belongs to Jewish people.

Global equality is central to the next phase of industrial revolution, argues Larry Elliott

S THE millennium approaches, it is obvious that proaches, it is obvious that the two great and unavoidable economic challenges of the 21st century will be sustaining the global environment and alleviating global poverty.

The common assumption is that these challenges will be spawned by a world economy that continues to underperform. But this view is based on the experience of the past not the future, when the global economy is at last set to change for

Looking back across the 200-odd years of modern capitalism, each phase of industrialisation was driven by one dominant technology --steam power, the railways, electricity, the internal combustion engine. Although the pattern has not been uniform the world economy has tended to undulate through long cycles of around 50-60 years, with one technology becoming exhausted and replaced.

But the new paradigm does not arrive overnight. There is often a period when the old technology is on its way out but the new has yet to fulfil its potential. The first motor cars, for example, were produced at the end of the 19th century, but to get the most from the technology there was a need for roads, the Fordist method of production and the drift to the suburbs.

It is clear that information technology will be the driving force behind the next wave and over the next 20 years the full benefits of the computer age will become apparent. The boom dominated by the inter-net generation will be bolstered by two other changes: the geographic revolution that will bring the huge markets of the former communist world into the global economy and the entry of women into the workforce in ever-increasing numbers.

In the past, some of the boom phases of the long cycle lasted longer than others, and one key factor behind the longevity of the up-swing is the policy stance. The strength and duration of the post-war boom, for example, was helped by expansionist macro-economic policies, the far-sightedness of the Marshall aid programme and a political culture in which narrowing the gulf between rich and poor was

seen as important. To make sure the next long cycle lasts as long as the Golden Age, the

↑ MERICAN airline USAir has

British Airways realgn from its

board and sell its stake in the

The move follows the com-

linace between BA and

American Airlines.

pany's filing of a lawsuit in New York at the end of last month

USAir said that the alliance

agreement between BA and USAir and would allow the com-

panies to dominate the North

breached the terms of a 1993

seeking to block the proposed al-

Guardian Reporters



West will need to rediscover that policy formula. Central banks and finance ministries must recognise that inflation is no longer the enemy t once was, the International Monetary Fund should show to Russia the generosity the Americans once accorded to western Europe and, above all, resources should be shifted from rich to poor and from North to South.

The need for redistribution should not be underestimated. A recent paper in the Economic Journal by Danny Quah, of the London School of Economics, shows that the global economy is polarising into rich and moor countries. Contrary to traditional analyses, there is no guarantee that the poor countries will gradually converge with

Without direct and prompt action, this trend is likely to accelerate. Those who point to the success of the "tiger" economies of East Asia as examples of nations that have pulled themselves up by their bootstraps conveniently forget that the policies which underpinned rapid development - interventionist industrial policies and protectionism — are outlawed by the new economic orthodoxy. Moreover, the sheer cost of the physical infrastructure necessary for the computer age - terminals, software, fibre-optic networks and so on - is likely to widen the

gulf between rich and poor. The UN recognises that this problem has to be addressed. Richard Jolly, principal author of the human development report noted:

USAir blocks British Airways-AA alliance

viable competitor

numinst them.

Atlantic market. Chairman

Steven Wolf said the alliance vio-

lated American anti-trust laws

and the lawsuit "advances and

underscores the absolute deter-

mination of USAir to become a

USAir wants BA to sell the

24.6 per cent stake it has built

BA has three directors on

was warned that that the airline

up over the last three years.

USAir's board. None of them

was going to take legal action

AA sold it was "astonished

and inystified" by the lowsuit. It,

too, had received no communi-

"Policy-makers are often mesmerised by the quantity of growth. They need to be more concerned with its quality and to take timely action to prevent growth that is lop-sided and flawed."

The UN cited five damaging forms of growth - that which does not translate into jobs, that which is not matched by the spread of democracy, that which snuffs out separate cultural identities, that which despoils the environment, and growth where most of the benefits are seized by the rich.

This last is what the UN calls ruthless growth. It is what leads to street kids being exterminated i Latin America and children going without proper education or medical care in sub-Saharan Africa. If it continues unopposed, the famines, the civil wars, the waves of migration and the environmental degradation of the past two decades will be as nothing to what will occur in the first 20 years of the 21st century.

S O WHAT should be done? The most basic reform is to provide decent editors provide decent education to every child. In 1960, South Korea and Pakistan had the same per-capita incomes, but Pakistan had primary school enrolment of 30 per cent, South Korea 94 per cent, Today, South Korea's GDP per head is three times that of Pakistan.

Although such a programme would require serious amounts of cash, there are two obvious sources. The first would be a tax on pollution

low wages Richard Thomas

ESEARCH showing Britain's lowest-paid workers sliding

With the employers' organisation anxious about Labour's plans for a

Worsening conditions in cleaning, hotels and catering pushed up the number of people earning less than £2.40 (\$3.70) an hour by more than 20 per cent between 1994 and 1995, the CRI research ohows.

Some CBI staff argued privately that the data should be made public. to demonstrate the higher cost and consequent additional job losses which could be associated with min imum wages - and reinforce the CBI's long-held opposition to state intervention in the labour market.

ouse gases. The second would be

to press ahead with the idea, floated

y James Tobin, of a transactions tax

Both ideas have struggled to

nake headway, not least because

the rich and powerful - who would

be the big losers - have mounted a

vigorous defence of their privileged

position. But, as Professor Tobin

noted in the foreword to a recent

book, The Tobin Tax (published by

OUP), most of the opposition is groundless. If the financial sector is

so cost-conscious that a 0.25 per

cent transactions tax would cause it

to up sticks and head for the Cay-

man Islands, one may ask why it has

On any objective basis, the devel-

oping world could make better use

of 0.25 per cent of the \$1 trillion a

day-plus passing through the for-

eign exchanges than do Western fi-

form of global fiscal mechanism

freebooting international capitalism.

choice. It can make some modest

sacrifices that would allow the de-

veloping world to take a fair share of

rising global prosperity. Or it can in-sist, as Neville Chamberlain once

said of Czechoslovakia, that the de-

that global poverty, insecurity and

ecological disaster will truncate the

Ultimately, the rich West has a

n foreign exchange speculation.

One CBI source said: "At first it politics were too scary."

John Cridland, the CBI's head of employment policy, admitted the resaid it was being kept quiet until the causes of the deterioration had been

nancial institutions. Providing some Employment and Education Secretary, has blocked plans for a new would also put democratic fetters on monthly measure of unemployment that could paint a gloomier picture of job prospects.

> hold survey-based count of joblessness alongside the dole queue yardstick, which only captures peoole eligible for benefits.

veloping world is a faraway place of which we know nothing. In that case, it must face the near-certainty nish the Conservative record on job creation in the run-up to polling day.

coolsical disaster will truncate the	l		
upswing for which we have waited so long.	FOREIGN EXCHANGES		
		Sterling rates August 5	Sterling rates July 29
BA's partner was saying this,	Australia	1.0959-1.9984	11.9768-1.9787
then every regulatory authority	Austria	16.10-16.13	16.22-16.23
in Europe and America could	Belgium	47.18-47.26	47.52-47.55
only draw the same conclusion.	Canada	2.1224-2.1264	2.1375-2.1389
USAir abandoned its opera-	Denmark	8.84-8.85	8.90-8.90
tions from the US east coast to	França	7.77-7.79	7.82-7.82
the UK as a condition of its deal	Germany	2.2888-2.2919	2.3062-2.3077
with BA in 1993. If it broke	Hong Kong	11.93-11.94	12.04-12.05
nway from BA, USAir would	ireland	0.9588-0.9606	0.9618-0.9630
probably try to fly to the UK in	Italy	2,339-2,343	2,376-2,378
competition with BA-AA — with	Japan	184.52-184,79	168.54-188.69
operations into Heathrow airport	Natherlands	2.5673-2,5708	2.5891-2.6907
from its etsongest 110 and in a	New Zagland	2.2578-2.2615	2.2413-2.2435
from its strongest US east coast	Norway	9.88-9.90	9.92-9.94
cities, Pittsburgh, Charlotte and Boston.	Portugal	234.95-235.67	237.24-237.47
	Spain	194.37-194.67	196.32-196.43
 The City failed to be excited by 	Swaden	10.19-10.21	10.23-10.25
news of an 11.1 per cent rise in	Switzeriend	1 8558-1.8584	1.8797-1.8817
BA's first-quarter pre-tax profits.	UBA '	1.6438-1.544β	1.5577-1.5582
Shares ended Monday 6.5p	tcu -	N/A-N/A	1.2260-1.2268
down at 534p as investors wor-	F782100 Strare	lister up 109.5 at 3	788.2. FTEE 850
ried about possible US litigation.	Index on 69 Cas	43014 Ochlon DI	10 -4 from 00

CBI keeps lid on report into

GUARDIAN WEEKLY August 11 1996

deeper into poverty is being kept under wraps by the Confederation of British Industry for fear it will fuel demands for a minimum wage.

floor under wages, senior CBI figures have blocked the publication of internal data showing that some of Britain's most vulnerable workers have suffered pay cuts over the past

But senior staff are concerned that publishing the research could backfire, by provoking more concern about the problem of low pay. The research has been seen by Adair Turner, the CBI director gen

was thought we could make a big song and dance about how many people would be laid off. But then we thought the opposite effect might be achieved. Basically, the

Meanwhile Gillian Shephard, the

Government statisticians are pushing for introduction of a house-

But Mrs Shephard is concerned he proposed measure would tar-

A A			August 5	July 29
AA alliance 1	BA's partner was saying this,	Australia	1.0950-1.9984	11.9768-1.9787
	then every regulatory authority	Austria	16,10-16,13	16.22-16.23
	in Europe and America could	Belgium	47.18-47.26	47.52-47.56
cation from USAir. It asserted	only draw the same conclusion.	Canada	2.1224-2.1254	2.1375-2.1389
that the alliance protected	USAir abandoned its oners.	Denmark	8.84-8.85	8.90-8.90
USAir's "rights in every way and	tions from the US east coast to	França	7,77-7.79	7.82-7.82
is extraordinarily pro-competi-	the UK as a condition of its deal	Germany	2.2888-2.2919	2.3062-2.3077
tive". AA said that it would only	with BA in 1993. If it broke	Hong Kong	11.93-11.94	12.04-12.05
proceed with the alliance with	away from BA, USAir would	Ireland	0.9588-0.9606	0.9618-0.9830
BA if it was approved by the US	probably try to fly to the UK in	itely	2,339-2,343	2,376-2,376
departments of justice and	competition with BA-AA — with	Japan	184.52-184,79	168.54-168.69
transportation.	operations into Heathrow airport	Netherlands	2.6673-2,5708	2.5891-2.6907 .
Richard Branson, who heads	from its atrongest US east coast	New Zagland	2.2578-2.2615	2.2413-2.2435
Virgin Atlantic, and has lodged	cities, Pittsburgh, Charlotte and	Norway	9.88-9.90	9.92-B.94
official complaints to the British	Boston.	Portugal	234.95-235.57	237.24-237.47
and American governments	The City failed to be excited by	Spoin	194.37-194.67	196.32-196.43
	news of an 11.1 per cent rise in	Sweden	10.19-10.21	10.23-10.25
delighted at the lawsuit.	BA's destricted to the Centrice in	Switzenand	18558-1.8584	1.8797-1.8817
"The logic of USAir that the	BA's first-quarter pre-tax profits.	USA	1.6438-1.544B	1.6577-1.5682
deal is anti-competitive is no	Shares ended Monday 6.5p	ECU	N/A-N/A	1.2260-1.2268
	down at 534p as investors wor- ried about possible US litigation.	FTSE 100 Strare Indus up 109.6 at 3769.2. FTSE 260 Index up 82.0 at 4285.4. Gold up 36.50 at \$390.00,		

The Washington Post

Relatives Call Shots in Disaster Inquiry

Dale Russakoff in East Moriches, New York

T WAS a simple request from parents who had lost a daughter in the crash of Trans World Airlines Flight 800. They wanted a final moment with their little girl. But like so much else in the crash's aftermath — the search for evidence and bodies, the politics of grief - their wish launched a journey into uncharted territory.

Tom Shepardson, a funeral direct tor aiding the Suffolk County medical examiner, reviewed photographs of the girl's disfigured body. Seeing her remains would magnify, not soothe, her parents' grief. Then he noticed her hands: almost intact. Shepardson arranged for the body to be fully wrapped. with only the right hand exposed. Later that day, the parents sat for two hours beside their daughter holding her hand, consoling each other, unspeakably thankful for this last contact with their child.

In the two weeks since Flight 800 exploded, new frontiers have been crossed not only in the realm of human emotions but also in difficult issues of law enforcement, politics and the logistics of mass disaster as the country comes to grips with largest-ever terrorist attack within

The plane had crashed into a no man's land, an ocean depth where both bodies and evidence are retrievable, but just barely. Within hours, the victims' families had become a cohesive force, mirroring political power developed over several years by families devastated by the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

These developments created unsearch for bodies and the search for evidence, with distraught family members accusing investigators of forsaking loved ones for nirplane parts, President Clinton traveling to New York to assure mourners that recovering bodies is Priority One and investigators saying frankly that the trade-off has been a delay in discovering what or who caused the crash. All but 2 percent of the plane remains on the ocean floor.

"I can't remember there ever being a recovery problem like this one," said Ross Zumwalt, president of the National Association of Medical Examiners, which studies mass disasters. "This depth is right at the limit of diving capacity and technology, so you have a choice. If you focus on the grief of families, you bring up bodies. If you look at the safety of the whole community, maybe it's more important to solve the puzzle and then get the bodies. My reading is that as a country, we'd

rather attend first to people's grief."

The crash of Flight 800 — with 230 people on board — also has featured politicians in more prominent roles than any other airplane disaster, acting as victims' advocates. They have done what politicians do best - bending a vast investigative apparatus to the needs of the helpless - but the cacophony of politicians' voices also helped make an already daunting investigation that much more so.

"No one's against compassion, but sometimes it can be dangerous, and it can distract the safety board from its core mission," said Jim Bur-

nett, former chairman of the Na-tional Transportation Safety Board (NTSB), which heads the crash investigation. "Families are removed from their best solace — their own families and friends - and in their place they have politicians for their support group, which can inflame From the beginning, families

were protected from learning the hideous condition of the victims bodies, which defied human imagination. When a young Coast Guard officer recoiled in horror from the human debris in the Atlantic Ocean, a wizened Suffolk County cop embraced him and counseled: "Try not to think of them as people." When grieving relatives asked the medical examiner for their loved ones' jewelry and clothing, the grim answer most cases was: There is no jewclry. There is no clothing. The airplane too is in worse shape

than investigators had hoped, vastly complicating the search for clues. which still has yielded no conclusive evidence of a bomb - or any other cause. It is a soup of cables, mangled metal and body parts mired in silt under 120 feet of dark ocean. The best-trained U.S. Navy divers descending in shifts round the clock have become emangled in wires and razor-edged debris. And at a hangar where the Boeing 747 is being minstakingly reassembled, even Boeing engineers are at times unsure which shard of plane goes where.

"This is a wreck, this is not an airplane down there," NTSB vice chairman Robert Francis said the other day, struggling to convey the plane's shattered condition to questioners familiar with whole ones.

ARIS-BOUND Flight 800 disappeared from radar at about 8:31pm on July 17. By 9pm, a cellular phone was ringing in a van carrying Republican New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani home from a meeting. An aide had heard a rumor of a crash "right outside" of John F. Kennedy International Airport. Instantly, Giuliani was on two of his van's four phones mobilizing city police, divers, emergency workers and counselors for families he was certain would converge on JFK.

By midnight, more than 60 shell-shocked people had gathered. Angry that TWA officials withheld the passenger list for 18 hours, Giuliani shared with families an unofficial list, warning that nothing was confirmed.

By morning, Republican New York Gov. George E. Pataki was there too. He had spent most of the night at the U.S. Coast Guard's grisly salvage operation, witnessing indescribable carnage. The ocean was aflame with jet fuel and - bobbing amid the waves - he saw everything from plane innards to a child's teddy bear. Now, he faced plan prepared for just such a disasthe friends and families. "It was so hard," Pataki said. "One easy to implement. The bodies had of the first people I met was the fallen three miles, collided with air

father of an 11-year-old girl who was | plane parts, passed through flames, ust going off to study French. My 11-year-old daughter had just come back from studying French. I was so aware of the tremendous exuberance and happiness my daughter felt, photographing, X-raying and perwhen she came back and talked to us in a few words of French, and I only technical feats but also vast tried to think of how tragic it must be that this father will not have that joy with his daughter again." The emotional bonds made politi-

shaking during a break.

cians unusually responsive to the families. But a volatile dynamic was in progress. Only in recent years have families come on masse to crash sites, and this was the largest and most vocal gathering ever. In news conferences beamed out across the world, they declared their anger at the medical examiner's slow pace, at the Navy for its painstaking search. They demanded bodies, not the black boxes investigators seemed so eager to find.

Politicians took up their cause. Aviation safety specialists say that he trend of families and politicians converging at crash sites creates demands for instant answers when, in fact, these investigations demand outsized patience, arduous analysis and openness to all conclusions for nonths, even years.

Safety purists winced when VTSB chairman Jim Hall deputized top NTSB official, Peter Goelz, as liaison to families. (More than 150 of them took up indefinite residence at three JFK hotels.) Goelz arranged for Francis to brief fami-

lies daily, a first-ever development. "The families did become more of political force and they should have," said Giuliani, who lost two friends in the crash. "Some of the issues and abuses they face will now get solved." The first body to arrive t Suffolk County Medical Examner Charles Wetli's office was numbered 5,000, in accordance with a ter. But little else in the

and landed with force that drove

thigh bones through pelvises, and spines through skulls. The work of fingerprinting,

emotional strength. "Imagine your worst horror

Workers guide wreckage from the crashed TWA plane on to a truck

"Of the first 100 cases, a detective abulated how many were viewable" by a relative or friend. Wetli said in

or interview, "It was less than 10." Wetli said he knew he would need extra help, but elected to establish a smooth process with his own staff before adding people or shifts. As a result, for the first three days autopsies were performed 12 iours a day rather than 24. After two full days, only five bodies were dentified; few dental X-rays or fingerprints had yet been supplied by amilies. But the families, desperate to retrieve their loved ones' re-

nains, were furious, Four days after the crash. Wetli's office went round-the-clock, with help from technicians and pathologists supplied by Pataki. Wetli pointed out, however, that his staff had processed the first 100 corpses within 90 hours. By last Thursday night, 184 bodies pulled from the

OR FOUR days after Flight 800 crashed, high-tech ships operated by the Navy and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration combed hundreds of miles of ocean back and forth, systematically overlapping each swath, before finding the first major debris

Although bodies were the official priority, the ships were not looking for hodies. Their sonar could detect wreckage. But officials said such a search was sure to find bodies.

From the outside, some families concluded that loved ones were being left callously on the ocean floor. Where were the recovery ships and the divers? Why only D'Amato, R-New York, became their advocate, attacking Capt. Raymond McCord, head of the Navy's diving and salvage office, who had movie. Then make it real," said a said - accurately - during the forensic dentist who was visibly search phase that the Navy was de-

ploying its maximum resources. When D'Amato made his accusation, Navy divers already were descending into the newly mapped debris field. They returned with horrific videos and reports of decomposing bodies and body parts, enmeshed with airplane debris. Not only were investigators sickened, they also knew that disentangling bodies and evidence from the ocean and each other would be more damn ing than anyone was braced for.

"We are actually going foot by foot searching for bodies," said James Kallstrom, assistant FBI director and head of the bureau's investigation. "The scene is very haotic, very confusing," he said.

On the Tuesday after the crash, Pataki announced that divers had told him of "dozens and dozens" of bodies underwater. He expected the news would give hope to families, who were desperate to have a body to say goodbye to, and at last begin grieving. But the hopes crashed that night when Francis announced that in fact Pataki was mistaken. The awful truth was that, given search conditions and decomposition, no one knew how many bodies were there, or how long it would take to mise them

THE FAMILIES public an guish now had such momenturn that Clinton himself decided to address it. No president ever had visited a crash site with an investigation underway.

But after dispatching the Federal Emergency Management Agency director lames Lee Witt to New York to assess the problem Chinon felt that the families' distrust of investigators — fanned by politicians in New York — threatened the probe's credibility. White House

Chief of Staff Leon Panetta agreed. Clinton was scheduled to stay 45 minutes, instead he stayed three hours, talking to each family separately. He promised three times that retrieving bodies would take absolute precedence over wreckage. recalled Richard Penzer, whose sister Judy, a muralist, died in the crash. In the name of restoring

trust, wreckage would have to wait.

The issue is becoming moot as more and more bodies are identified and major amounts of evidence wait to be raised. "It's probably not realisic to feel that we're going to recover every single person who was on that irplane," Francis said the other day. Those folks understand that."

Americans have come to expect nstant solutions to grievous crimes. t took 21/4 days to crack the World Trade Center bombing in 1990. Timothy McVeigh was arrested two days after the 1993 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building.
But Flight 800 is different. In two

weeks, criminal investigators have interviewed almost 1,800 people, including witnesses who saw the jetliner explode, JFK employees who had contact with it, officials of companies with cargo on it. Gumshoes are pursuing leads through interpol Scotland Yard and throughout the Middle East. But so far, there is no crime to investigate, much less a suspect. Even if bomb evidence is found, it would take months to determine what kind of bomb, what detonated it and more.

The investigation remains figuratively and literally underwater. Perhaps this is what Kalistrom anticipated the day after the crash when he promised, "We'll get to the bottom of this," then added, "what-



OPINION Edwin M. Yoder, Jr.

OMETIMES, these confusing days, the story itself is the story. That is the case, and it is disturbing, with the FBI's suspicions of an Olympic security guard named Richard Jewell in connection with the July 27 pipe bombing at Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta. In England, Jewell would at worst be described as "assisting in police inquiries." In Atlanta, he's on trial by publicity.

But is he even a suspect? The FBI says not, though it conducted a 11hour search of Jewell's apartment and a mountain cabin he once used, and is leaking massively to the press about him. Jewell's lawyer says "if he's being searched, he's a suspect." The Fourth Amendment says that "no (search) warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause." la there

probable cause here?
It was Jewell who found the knapsack containing the three pipe bombs in the park and warned spectators away from it. He was still nearby when one of the bombs exploded, spraying nails and screws over a wide radius. So if he did the deed he is that rare bomber who dkin't mind being blown up or injured with his victims.

And If his was the voice who called 911 from a pay phone some blocks away with a warning 23 minutes before the explosion, how was he in two places at once? And how, by the way, did he disguise his distinctive drawl? In whodunits, the least likely suspect routinely turns out to be the villain. But do such improbabilities Conan Doyle and Agatha Christie?

Michael Dobbs in Belgrade

A FTER leading his nation to military defeat and economic

ruin, Serbian President Slobodan

suappy slogan for parliamentary

lections later this year: "Serbia,

European leader more identified

with the past than Milosevic, or

a country less prepared for the

challenges of the new millen-

nium than Yugosiavia, which now consists of Serbia and its

This is a country that took a

disastrous wrong turn in the late

1980s. Under Milasevic's lead-

ership — his republic of Serbia

dominates the Yugoslav federa-

nationalism at a time when their

Soviet Bloc neighbors were busy

The results of that wrong turn

are clearly visible. Recommically,

Yugoslavia has regressed to the

late 1960s. National per-capitu

income is about \$1,000, down

from more than \$2,000 when

There has been little real pri-

vatization. Foreign investment

has dried up. The Yugoslay gov-

Milosevic came to power in

tion — the Serbs embraced

liberating themselves from

day ally Montenegro.

Milosevic has come up with a

Step into the 21st century."

It is hard to think of a

casts, raised the right issue when suspicions of Jewell were published in an extra by the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and quickly blared to the world on television and radio (another instance of the pernicious tendency to take one medium's re-porting of a rumor as sufficient authority for repeating it).

For the sake of argument, said Costas to NBC anchorman Tom Brokaw, what if Jewell is innocent? Brokaw scoffed that "sources" all over were assuring NBC and its re-porters that the FBI had its man. But then why not arrest him? Costas persisted. Easy, said Brokaw, with the air of correcting a child, the FBI likes to "sweat" a suspect. Certainly Richard Jewell is being "sweated."

As time passes, Costas' civilized reservations look more and more acute. Despite the finger-pointing, the FBI says it has no hard evidence against Jewell and declines to arrest hlm. He came to police attention only when a former employer called to say that Jewell had been "overzenlous" when working as a security guard at Piedmont College. lewell, it turned out, had had a scrape or two with the law, once for impersonating a law officer. Faceless sources continued to say that Jewell fits the "profile" of heroic fan-lasists who do mischief for publicity.

Whether or not Jewell is ever charged, this is a shocking and shabby business. The nastiness of the crime might extenuate though not excuse such official behavior except that more and more, the FBI's hand, or that of its agents, turns up in behavior ranging from unprofessional to bizarre.

I have in mind the leaks of prejudicial allegations about the Una-Bob Costas, NBC's master of bomber and the Oklahoma City and "circumstantial evidence" ceremonics for the Olympic broad- case; the trash book in which a should imagine themselves in Jew-

ernment is desperately trying to find jobs and housing for the

half-million Serb refugees from

Croatia and Bosnia who have

ended up in Serbia. The most

Politically, too, Yugoslavia

bears the scars of years of inter-

Moscow's embrace and adopting

an eclectic brand of communism

known as workers' self-manage-

ment, Yugoslavia's post-war dic-

national isolation. By rejecting

dynamic and best-educated

citizens have fled abroad.

Milosevic Fails to Halt Serbia's Decline



Richard Jewell, the Centennial Park security guard at the centre of the Atlanta bombing investigations: He says he was not involved

House reported unsubstantiated rumors about the president's private files to gumshoes in the White and the apparent fabrications by an FBI agent concerning what he was told at the White House about who recommended hiring the disgraced ersonnel security director. Craig vingstone, and why.

Those who approve of casual defamation on the basis of "profiles"

metime FBI liaison at the White | ell's shoes. Official vilification has from which he may not recover. life; the casual furnishing of FBI And embarrassingly, the law's naughty accomplices are colleagues House personnel security office; in the media who volunteer to be conveyor belts for self-publicizing

> I have no idea where the truth lies, but if Jewell has been tried by publicity for a crime of which he is guiltless, he ought to have some legal recourse. I would resent as a taxpayer having to ante up my share of the damages, but he would de-

Yugoslavia's economic position is that an "outer wall of sanc-tions" remains in place. The... United States says it will continue to block Belgrade's admission to international financial institutions and access to international credit. The blockade

However, apart from permitting a sudden influx of cheep the lives of ordinary Yugoslavs.

tator, Tito, became the darling of the West and the champion of the Nonaligned Movement.
Today, 16 years after Tito's death, Yugoslavia has been left with few real friends, and what was the most open country in Eastern Europe has become one of the more closed ones. "Milosevic failed to under-

stand the political message of the fall of the Berlin Wall," said Konstantin Obradovic, deputy director of the Belgrade Conter for Human Rights, "While other Communist politicians accepted the Western model, and moved in the direction of the rest of Europe, Milosevic went the other way. That is why we are

where we are today." If anything, the sense of political and economic drift has only deepened since December,

when Millosevic signed the peace agreement forged in Dayton, Ohio, that ended the 31/2-year war in Bosnia. In return for his cooperation, the United States rewarded Milosevic by supporting the suspension of an international trade embargo against

gasoline, the removal of the U.N. sanctions has failed to improve In conversations with U.S. negotiators in Dayton, Milosev

frequently talked about his ambitions for Serbia following peace settlement. He describe how, with the help of Western investors, he would turn his country into a "Switzerland of the Balkans." Eight months later, Serbs still are waiting for the peace dividend Milosevic

"The high hopes that were onnected to the lifting of sancions have evaporated," said Mihajio Markovic, a former spokesman for the ruling Socialist Party here. "This is a dangerous period right now. When sanctions were in place, the government could blame the West for everything that was

wrong with our economy." One reason for the lack of any

will continue as long as Belgrade fails to cooperate fully with the tribunal in The Hague investigating Balkan war crimes and coninues to repress the Albanian majority in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

Equally important, Milosevic has shown little interest in implementing the kind of economic "shock therapy" that is changing the face of other former Eastern

Bloc countries. Yugoslavia has yet to tackle seriously the restructuring of its economy, which is still dominated by staterun dinosaurs. Radical economic reform would strike at the heart of Milosevic's power base, which rests on a vast web of political and economic patronage.

"All our neighbors advanced, but we are in the same place. We lost five years of a crucial period of transition," said Predrag Simic, director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics here. "Dayton opened the gates to major changes, but nobody is going through the gates. There are no

in Brief

THE House of Representatives voted to declare English the official language of the U.S. government for the first time, plunging into a debate that pits competing American tradi-tions of diversity of cultures and unity of language.

The measure, passed on a 259 to 169 vote that largely followed party lines, would require the federal government to conduct its official business in English, ending the current practice of printing some docu-ments in languages other than English to help those for whom English is a second language.

Asian and Hispanic activists condemned the measure as punitive. Cecilia Muñoz, of the National Council of La Raza, called the measure "unneces sary and dangerous." She said: The English language in the United States is not in jeopardy . . It is being done for the sake of symbolism and . . . of trying to earn cheap political points."

▲ FEDERAL jury in Little A Rock, Arkansas, cleared Arkansas bankers Herby Branscum Jr. and Robert M. Hill, both longtime supporters of President Clinton, of four felony charges. The jurors deadlocked on seven remaining counts in-volving misuse of bank funds.

The verdicts were the first set back for independent counsel Kenneth Starr and an instant boost for the president, whose 1990 gubernatorial campaign was the focus of the case.

donations to Clinton's tough reelection bid in 1990 and the handling of the campaign account at their bank. Prosecutors alleged they illegally used funds from their Perry County Bank to cover their campaign contributions and, in two cases, conspired with campaign treasurer Bruce Lindsey to hide large cash withdrawals from federal regulators.

I ME magazine apologized for publishing in 1992 an accusation that former Washington Post Moscow correspondent Dusko Doder accepted money from the KGB. Time agreed to pay Doder roughly \$270,000 plus costs at the end of a British libel action.

The article, and the case, had become a cause célèbre among some prominent U.S. journalists who, in a letter to Time, had accused the magazine of engaging in "smear" and "innuendo" against Doder by publishing "rumors" without "a shred of proof to substantiate them." Time responded that its reporting had been "thorough and responsible."

FTER deducting production Costs, rights fees and profitsharing with Olympics Games organizera, NBC executives say the network will take home about \$70 million from its two weeks in Atlanta. In Barcelona in 1992, the network lost about 899 million.

The anticipated profit is roughly twice that collected by ABC during the 1984 Summer Games from Los Angeles, which until now were ranked the most lucrative for a broadcast network**Quebec Calls to Its Mother Tongue**

'Language police' are to resume enforcing French. **Charles Trueheart** reports from Toronto

ANADA, in an effort to embrace and dignify its linguistic minority in Quebec, recognizes two official languages English and French, Quebec declines the gesture. It has just one official language: French.
Between those two solitudes lies

the issue that, more than any other, has polarized society in Quebec and Canada for more than a quartercentury. Other nationalisms are calls to ethnicity, or territory, or faith; Quebec's is a call to the

This may begin to explain why unprompted by public opinion and heedless of public relations — Quebec plans to resume strict enforcement of language laws in the province, where French speakers

are in the overwhelming majority.
Unearthing a symbol that the
most ardent Quebec nationalists understand, the governing Parti Québécois said in June that it would resurrect the Commission to Protect the French Language to enforce the use of French in public and commercial life.

The enforcement agency, disbanded three years ago, was commonly known as the language police — or "tongue troopers" — among many in the English-speaking and immigrant minority communities, which resented linguistic repression.

Quebec leaders offered assurances that the recommissioned po-lice will have fewer powers and staff

A woman holds a photograph of her late husband, a farmer who was

executed for smuggling 80lb of heroin in a ten shipment from

Yunnan to Fullan

PHOTOGRAPH: PATRICK E. TYLER

could lead to on-the-spot justice and

"We can apply it with moderation. with a sense of decency about it, without bringing back the ghost of the language police," said David Payne, a Quebec government official responding to concerns of Eng-lish apeakers. But Louise Beaudoin, the Quebec culture minister, held out the prospect of giving officers the power to impose fines if the number of violations created "a bottleneck."

Recently, the non-Francophone communities have other reasons to doubt the secession-minded government's protestations of tolerance and amity.

This spring, two weeks before the lewish feast of Passover, Quebec anguage-office functionaries notifled supermarkets and food distributors in Montreal that they would face legal repercussions if they stocked kosher products, imported from New York, with English-only packaging. But the provincial gov-ernment backed off.

Quebec's Charter of the French Language was promulgated in 1977. after separatists first came to power. It has long drawn the wrath of the province's English-speaking and immigrant communities, who together represent less than a fifth of the population. The controversial laws mandate and govern the use of French in the workplace, in business and in schooling. Their most controversial provisions regulate where, and how prominently, English and other languages may ap-

pear on public signs.

Montreal novelist Mordecal Rich

New Yorker magazine articles and in a book he savagely chronicled what he said was Quebec's heritage of anti-Semitism, tribalism and xenophobia, which, he said, live on in modern Quebec nationalism and and on the continent.

its language laws.

Constitutional atandoffs in the Supreme Court of Canada and a low rumble of international pressure — including from an arm of the United Nations - forced the Quebec government in 1993 to dilute the laws. English is now permissible on

outdoor signs, so long as it appears at half the size of the equivalent French words. Immigrants who settle in Quebec, regardless of their language of origin, must send their children to French schools. This provision once included even English-speaking Canadians who move to Montreal (though not many do); now such cases are granted a sixyear waiver if they do not intend to

The 35-year-old political debate about the fate of French in Quebec s focused on Montreal, home to nearly half of Quebec's 7.25 million.

reside in the province permanently.

Outside the Montreal metropoli tan area, except in a few English enclaves, French is the language used at home, school and work by roughly 90 percent of Quebecers. But Montreal is different. There, rates of bilingualism are high among Anglophones and Francophones alike, and dozens of languages other than French and English are spoken in bustling in-For many Quebec nationalists,

Montreal's cosmopolitan, multi-

than in its heyday in the late 1970s and '80s, when random complaints for the laws in 1991. In a series of about illegal English-language signs of New Yorker magazine articles and city where French is still commonly spoken. They see not their lan guage's overwhelming predominance and legal primacy in the province of Quebec, but its linguistic isolation and peril within Canada

> Those who scorn the seriousness with which even non-separatist Quebecers are moved to protect the French language should look in the mirror more closely, suggested Guy Laforest, a political scientist at Laval University in Quebec City.

"Consider the linguistic insecurities that some Americans feel vis-àvis the Spanish language despite a 280 million Anglophone majority in North America," he said in an interview. "If there is insecurity in that context, what kind of insecurity must there be for a French-speaking society in North America?"

That may be so. But thanks to the original language laws, and two decades of English speakers' flight to the rest of Canada, French is entrenched in Quebec, and thus North America, as never before. Even the most tendentious studies indicate that in Montreal, more than eight in 10 Francophones speak French at work, as do more than half of Montreal's Anglophones.

But to those most passionate about the protection of French, the glass is only half full. The workplace n Montreal is still a place where English is too often a necessity for dvancement. Bilingualism, a virtue and an asset in the rest of Canada and elsewhere, is perceived in these quarters as a continuing burden Francophones must bear.
The decision to tighten

screws on the use of English in Quebec also distressed those who wanted to believe that Lucien Bouchard, the separatist who be-came premier of Quebec seven months ago, wants to reach out to Anglophones. In Bouchard's efforts to burnish

Quebec's image in the internations inancial community, any such ethni cally suggestive vestiges of separatis orthodoxy make a stubborn tarnish.

The English-speaking communi-ties have been wounded and angry since last October's whisker-class referendum on Quebec indepen dence. On the night of his bute loss, Jacques Parizeau, who was premier, blanted the defeat on money and the ethnic vote," reference to Anglophones and inmigrants, whose vote was over whelmingly against separation. He quit his office in general disgrace

the next day.

The Bouchard government's revival of the language laws suggests a willingness to enrage English-speaking Canadians outside Quebec. For them, as for many American onlookers, no is tue so be wilders and angers as Quebec' defense of the French language Some, especially in the English speaking West, still chafe Canada's official two-languages policy, implemented by the English ma jority a quarter-century ago to mollify Quebec. The tederally mandated bilineual coruflakes box is chronically derided as the symbol of a policy that failed, of a concession that has only bred more demands from the restive French-speaking quarter of the Canadian population.

Laval University's Laforest sees no end to the struggle. "No matter what constitutional order we end up under, this debate will continue to define our society. It will still b

Heroin Grips China's Wild West

Keith B. Richburg in Ruili

BURMESE "businessmen" approach strangers with whispered offers of ruby and jade. Heavily made-up young prostitutes beckon male passersby to red-lit upstairs cubicles. And along nearly every street and mud-caked alley-way, small walk-in clinics offer treatment for myriad sexually transmitted

This frontier town, sinister and sleazy, is the Wild West of China's rugged Yunnan Province, which For centuries, this mountainous region has been defined by its remoteness — it was a place to which Chinese emperors banished criminals and malcontents, where Marco Polo marveled at the "natives" who "eat the raw flesh of fowls, sheep, oxen and buffalo" and where World War II American intelligence operatives funneled arms to Chinese guerrillas along the Burma

trading routes that traverse this inhospitable terrain are being used for trafficking in a more lucrative commodity: heroin.

Western drug enforcement officials say Yunnan Province has. emerged as the most important ment corridor for heroin produced in Burma - the source of the vast majority of heroin that reaches the streets of America's cities from the drug-producing "Golden Triangle" region of Southeast Asia.

"You look at the seizures we've | current problems of addiction,

had, and it's stuff coming from AIDS and prostitution. "You have across southern China," said one robberies. A lot of these guys have

U.S. drug agent. From laboratories in Burma's Kokang region — where raw opium is refined into heroin - the drug shipments leave Burma by truck or mule caravan and across thousands of miles of mountain trails to reach China. Once in Yunnan, the drugs are sent to the provincial capital, Kunming, for repackaging. The traffickers then have several opions for moving it to markets in the

overland to China's coastal Guangdong and Fujian provinces, where it is loaded onto ships. Some is sent by air freight to Hong Kong for later delivery in the United States. A favored new route is over the newly opened border with Vietnam, giving access to ports at Haiphong, Danang and Ho Chi Minh City, as well as several airports.

Typically, heroin coming out of China is hidden in containers along with legitimate cargo, such as food, textiles, plastic toys or other Chinese products headed for the United States. Drug enforcement officials say they have even discovered shipments of Burmese heroin moving from Yunnan province through Xinjiang Province in the northwest, from where it continues westward through Tajikistan or

The drug flow through China has had a devastating impact on southern border towns, promoting lawlessness, banditry and the con-

guns. There are shootouts with police," a U.S. law enforcement official said. "It's like Bogota, Colombia, for a thousand miles."

One of the main consequences of Ching's new role as a heroin trafficking center has been a surge in its addiction rates.

When the Communists came to power in 1949, drug addiction in China was rampant, with opium widely used among rich and poor alike, according to the Beijing-based National Institute on Drug Depen dence. But within a few years, drug addiction — along with trafficking — were virtually eliminated until at least 1979, when the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping ended decades of economic isolation and opened the world's most populous country to commercial influences.

By 1989, China reported having 70,000 drug addicts. The figure jumped to 380,000 in 1994 and 520,000 last year, according to cology with the institute. "This problem got more serious following the years of China's reforms, because there was a flow of drugs into Yunnan," Zheng said in an interview in Beijing.

The addicts are spread across this sprawling country, but for the most part, experts say, the pattern of drug addiction follows the drugtrail leading out of Burma - from Yunnan to Guangai and Guizhou. then east to Fullan and Guangdong Yunnan already has about 40,000 addicts.



Francine Prose

I+IE GETTIN PLACE typerion, 416pp. \$22.95

OME YEARS ago I happened, almost by chance, to attend a reading by a group of younger writers; among them was Susan Straight Though I'd enjoyed and admired the stories in her first collection, Aquaboogie, I was unprepared for the extraordinary experience of hearing her read aloud, an event which can best be described as an astonishing act of literary verttriloquism.
As the audience watched, the

writer - a pale, pretty woman with tong, light-brown hair - all but vanished, mystically transformed into her central character. For those few maintes on stage, she seemed to transcend her own persona and speak emirely through the lyrical. abountic voice of her atterly plansible narrator; a dreamy African-American boy, caught in the midst of unesing about his problematic life. at school and at home.

Few authors in America manage with the soil of easy confidence that makes the writing of fiction seem effortless) to do anything more difficult or triven the currendy intense suspicion of anyone during to write across the lines of race, gender, class) more nervy and brave. In Aquaboogie and her first two novels, I Been In Sorrow's Kitchen And Licked Out Ali The Pots and Blacker Than A Thousand Midnights, Sosan Straight has in-- and write sympathetically and

unsentimentally about - the everyday triumphs and struggles of mostly working-class black men, women and children.

Her new book, The Gettin Place. pelling yet. In this long, ambitious work, Straight combines her skill at accurately rendering the complex miances of character and community with the narrative momentum of a conventional novel of suspense. It is, as they say, a page-turner: a thriller with the sustained depth of a serious multigenerational family novel.



The plot begins dramatically and violently. In the small but growing (and growingly troubled) town o Rio Seco, an hour or so from Los Augeles, the bodies of two young white women are found in a burning car on the grounds of Hosea Thompson's auto salvage yard. Eventually, all of Hosen's large clan will be affected by — and implicated in - the crimes. The consequences of the murders will reach beyond Treetown (Rio Seco's black district) to the more prosperous downtown, then all the way to Los Angeles, around the globe to war-torn Cambodia, and back in history to Tulsa. Okiahoma, during the 1920s, when a series of race riots established a pattern of violence that has haunted Hosea through the intervening

Perhaps what's most impressive about The Gettin Place is how soon and how well we come to know its huge cast of characters: Hosea, his wife and brother, his six grown children, his grandchildren, and their neighbors: black and white, men and women, adolescents and children. Hosen's son Marcus is a high school history teacher and the only member of the family who can deal with white people and navigate with apparent ease between the very distinct and separate workly of Treetown and downtown

Less central to the consciousness the novel but equally well-drawn and memorable are Marcus's brother Finis, a young man whose brain has been so badly seared by PCP that he can speak only in lyrics from '70s and '80s pop songs, and his tormented, agoraphobic sister, Sofelia, who has fled to Los Angeles and, with Marcus's help, returned to save her son from the violence that | courage, its range and revelations.

follows him, all too readily, from t streets of South Central. The novel takes on important themes — history and progress. class and race, roots and rootlessness - but never seems talky or pedantic. It touches on any number of newsworthy issues - real estate development and land greed, innercity gang violence, drug dependency, race riots - without ever sacrificing its unwavering attention to the more essential and timeless truths of its characters' lives; i never strikes us as self-consciously

> S ALWAYS, Susan Straight demonstrates a sharp ear for the cadences and idioms of the street, of black speech, together with an appreciation and knowledge of its history. Marcus's sensibility gives her license and opportunity to step back from the highly eventful plot and tell us what she knows:

"topical." In fact, nothing here feels

self-conscious, labored or artificial.

"White people, downtown people, dways asked. 'Where do you live?' But growing up, he'd always heard the softer word. Where he stay now? . . . Back after slavery, all those brothers drifting from place to place, until 'Where do you live?' became Where do you stay?' Temporary, fleeting. Where do you rest your head, for this moment?"

The Gettin Place is hard to put down but also, in all the best ways, hard to read. Tough, uncompromising, unsentimental, free from romantic fantasy and reassuring cliche, it may tell too much of the harsh truth for some readers' tastes. But others will certainly find it to be the most entertaining and rewarding sort of thriller: not merely suspenseful but Rio Seco in a desperate attempt to also thrilling in its honesty, its

Mooning After Lily

Elizabeth Hand LUNATICS

St. Martin's. 325pp. \$23.95

reading falls somewhere between the latest blistering rash of bestsellers and a grim deter-mination to tote Decline And Fall (Gibbon, not Waugh) to Rehoboth, along with the SPF 97 sunscreen. Our ideal summer book would be like the ideal summer lover; undemanding, yet not totally mindless; sexy with a good sense of humor: weight proportionate to page length. In short, an object one would not be embarrassed for the world to see lying on the beach

Enter Bradley Denton's Lunatics, charming novel that begs to go along on vacation (and won't take up too much space). Denton is a writer with a wonderful sense of character and great comic timing. In Lunatics, he uses these to make a bodacious bombshell of a book that you can still espect in the morning.

Jack is a widower in his late thirties, smart, vaguely yuppie-ish, part of that 1970s band that was too young for Woodstock and is now too old for most of the products adverfised on MTV. When we first meet him, he's sitting naked in the January cold in front of his apartment, waiting for his monthly visitation from a goddess named Lilith, a paragon of female pulchritude with wings and taloned feet. Unfortunately, the police find Jack before minor crime of being naked in Austin." Jack is bailed out by his old University of Texas gang, who then conspire to keep him out of trouble, which mostly involves keeping Jack's clothes on when the moon is full far more difficult than it seems.

You see, Lily can't find her mortal lovers unless they're naked and bathed in moonlight. And Jack is so smitten by Lily that nothing, but nothing, will keep him from meeting her terms. In a last-ditch effort damage control, Jack's circle arranges for him to spend his full moons at a cabin in the Hill Country, with his friends in attendance as immoral support. This makes for great weekend-house-party scenes featuring the Whole Sick Crew: the

love but foundering on the shoals of less Halle, a single mother who just can't say No to the various men who stumble in and out of her bed; some of those various men; and Halle's wo Panzers-on-patrol offspring.

And, of course, Lily. None o Jack's friends believe him when he tells them about his new love interest - "You didn't see Lily, did you? Black hair, dark eyes, perfect legs, impressive wings?" But before the year is out, everyone has met Lily, who in true goddess fashion as she herself is irrevocably altered by her human lover.

it, along with a great evocation of Austin's outer limits and much ribald humor that cannot be quoted here. ual desire. In her efforts to understand and help Jack's friends, she exerts an irresistible pull that sends them careering in and out of each other's beds with the blitzkrieg energy of pinballs. The effect is more though. Denton's characters are exceptionally well-drawn and infinitely recognizable, from the honelessly dweeby Stephen to the adomble lunkhead Artie (the Matt Dillon role), who dropped out of university try ("it wasn't as if he still couldn't play. Once you've learned how to hit things with sticks, you never forget"). Even Lily escapes the fate of larger-than-life and thus unbelieve able. This is a goddess you could sit next to at your next Twelve-Step meeting, who unhappily witnesses her transformation from inviolable demiurge to ordinary damsel (though still with great hair).

"Lily looked miserable, 'Yes, but I don't feel the way I used to. You see, these days I find myself worrying about Jack and the people who matter to him. I never used to worry at all. Sometimes 1 don't like my body. hate my wings and my feet'.

The weakest-drawn link in this gorgeous, hard-as-nails Carolyn and | fect unforgettable song that evokes her twentysomething lover, Artie; a summer: breezy, sunstruck, joy-Katy and Stephen Corman, still in ous. It leaves you hununing.

This is material that demands

souffle-light touch, and Denton has

friends and lovers is Jack, who rebut hey, loving a goddesa takes it out of you. Lunatics is like that one per

Time to Remodel the Play-Doh Family

Amital Etzioni

A WORLD OF THEIR OWN MAKING Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Er, John R. Gillis Basic Books, 310pp, \$28

live in a world of myth, composed of symbolic interpretations of ourselves to ourselves, the world we would like to live by, not the one welive in. While it might be best to scrao all such unrealistic notions, this is impossible because we have a deep peed for idealization. What we can do, he says, is become aware of the dreamlike quality of our beliefs and "consciously and collaboratively" vided by religion and community.

OHN GILLIS's thesis is that we

lies in earlier ages were more stable and authentic than ours. He shows that this myth is of recent vintage, concocted by Victorians in the 19th century. Even then it did not reflect the reality of intimate relations, the church and were subject to fre- Better, For Worse: British Marquent family breakups due to death. The old myth has become particuburly damaging in our age and is now used by champions of family as he examines several specific values, whom Gillis often derides, to berate us. We should come together

and engineer a more realistic myth. The new myth would be of a family that is more pliable than Play-Dolt. Gillis reports that there are already 200 different kinds of family fashion better myths than those pro- that Europeans and Americans "now regard as legitimate families." And they believed in the continuity of life munity, in church, and in Heaven,

to refashion is our notion that fami- and for all the idol of 'the Family' and to validate the great variety of families that people are actually living by." Above all, we should "insist that we keep our family cultures diverse, fluid, and unresolved ..."

mourning was very brief, because

Gillis is a well-regarded historian, riages, 1600 To The Present. He is a powerful narrator, who uses a rich variety of sources to make his case myths that are interwoven with the mother of all myth, that of the family, He explores the ways we conceptual ize time, which leads him to examine age and the cultural framing of death. In earlier ages, Christians disposed of bodies quickly, and formal

lies are a source of existential anget. Time figures in Gillis's book in another way: He points out that we believe that we should have time for

family life but actually have ever less. As a result we are frantically trying to have a relaxed time together, only to be disappointed and which often were not sanctioned by the author of the well-received For I disappointing. He cites a telling statistic: 80 percent of Americans told a pollster that they had a family dinner the night before and 46 percent said they had eaten together every night of the preceding week. Observation revealed that only about onethird actually had. For Gillis this finding is another piece of evidence that a past myth must be replaced.

The same recasting is required for rituals of space, Victorians, like us, yearned for a place of harmony but expected to find it in the com-One particular myth Gillis steeks | he says "it is time to abandon once | and the afterlife. Today, the aging | rather than in the household. But as | whether or not it is soothing.

and anticipated death of our own the national and religious community weakened, the myth of the family household as a home arose. Public spaces, such as streets and plazas, where communities happen, became merely places to travel from one household to another. But the myth of the home and the reality of the household have become in creasingly difficult to reconcile, al We need a less troubling myth. Values are not a fairy tale we tell one another so we will be able to

> cope with a harsh world. They are the core of our most profound moral convictions. If reality does not match our beliefs, it is the reality that may well need to be refashioned. Granted, retooling reality is a challenging and painful, maybe even an eternal, struggle. And some respecifications of what we value might be called for. However, when all is said and done, we need to labor for what is right,

Le Monde

Europe fails to champion human rights

HE recent wave of hunger strikes in Turkish prisons once again pointed up the ambiguity of western Europe's rela-tions with its partners to the east and south when it comes to the human rights issue.

For years now, European experts have published reports denouncing the inhuman treatment meted out to prisoners in Ankara and Istanbul jails. Yet although Turkey joined the Council of Europe a long time ago — only a few months after its foun-dation in 1949 — those reports have not resulted in any real improvement in prison conditions there.

The case of the Kurds is equally telling. At the height of the Turkish army's clashes with the "rebels", European Union governments put such pressure on the European Parliament that it ended up ratifying the customs union from between the EU and Turkey in December 1995.

Leftwing MEPs initially tried to put up a fight, but a majority of them were eventually won over by the arguments put forward by European governments and Turkey's then prime minister, Tansu Ciller, The most important thing, they argued, was to bar the way to the pro-Islamic Welfare party by preventing it from winning the general election, and rapid implementation of the customs agreement with Brussels would confirm that Turkey was firmly anchored to the western world.

Today, Welfare's Necmettin Erbakan is in power thanks to the support of Ciller, who realised that her best chance of safeguarding her political future lay in making an alliance with the pro-Islamic party.
The Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly has made

equally serious mistakes. In its alpete with the EU by creating a "Greater Europe", the Strasbourg-based organisation has blindly em-

barked on a process of enlargement without worrying too much about without worrying too much about the respect of human rights which is after all its main function. The terms of the European Cor

vention on Human Rights had not been too flagrantly flouted until Russia applied for membership. Here again, the 15 EU countries, who form a bloc within the Council of Europe, leant very heavily on members of its parliamentary assembly. Despite events in Chechenia, an overwhelming majority of members voted in favour of Russian membership in lanuary 1995. The day before the vote, Leni

Fischer, the German Christian Democrat who is president of the assembly, said: "This is an essentially political decision, for I prefer on the other side of the ramparts." Foday. Fischer regularly issues communiques condemning the ussian army's action against the Thechen population. Such statements, like most

those emanating from leading officials in the Council of Europe, are prompted more by a need to react to events than by a genuine determination to bring the organisation's inhience to bear, however weak it The Council of Europe has acted

in an equally shortsighted manner on the issue of Croatia. Despite the fact that most of its member countries, notably those of the EU, called for Croatia's membership to be postponed in an attempt to force President Franjo Tudiman's regime to respect individual freedoms and, above all, to ensure the success of the Dayton accords, its assembly members came out in favour of admitting Croatia.

press freedom. So far these new regimes have not resolutely committed themhistory, its committee of ministers refused to endorse a vote by the assemselves to the democratisation bly. Croatia will consequently have to process. The Ukrainian president, show that it has honoured its pledges before being admitted as a member. Leonid Kuchma, recently told Le

A picture taken by a photographer smuggled into a Turkish Jall shows a definit prisoner who died after fasting for 66 days: Western Europe has done little to get Ankara to improve harsh prison conditions Russia, Croatia and other central | political, legal and even economic and cast European countries which problems before abolishing the

leath nenalty.

Russin and Ukraine have even argued that an ending of capital punshment would not be acceptable to majority of their citizens.

Another example is Latvia, whose government is reluctant to recognise that its Russian population should be allowed to enjoy certain besic rights. The Slovakian regime behaving in similar fashion towards its Hungarian minority. Human rights violations, some serious, some less so, also occur in

munist bloc, such as Estonia, Roma nia, Albania and Bulgaria.

Despite various setbacks, the Council continues to pursue its aim of a "Greater Europe". Its Swedish secretary-general, Daniel Tarschys, recently toured the Caucasus in response to requests for membership by Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan

At the rate things are going, the organisation may be joined in the near future by new nations whose regimes could hardly be described as models of democracy. And why indeed should Thilisi, Yerevan or Baku worry about keeping their promises when those countries that have failed to do so do not even get rapped over the knuckles?

Yet the Council of Europe, unlike the EU, has allowed for the possibility of suspending a member country if need be, in 1969, not long after a military junta took power, Green left the organisation just as it was about to be excluded. And Furkey was asked to withdraw as parliamentary representation from the Council following the 1980 military coup.

Since then, the Council of Europe's assembly members have been content to follow the instructions of their various governments except in the case of Croatia, and to work towards the construction of a Tireater Europe".

The Court of Human Rights has so far received more than 100 complaints from Tucks about violations of individual freedoms, However, it takes the court an average of a least five years to make its rulings.

How much longer will the Council of Europe continue to bark up the wrong tree? Should it try to play a diplomatic-cum-strategic role in the shadow of the superpowers, or concentrate on its real vocation, the defence of individual citizens?

Europe waited decades before threatening to "interfere" in the of fairs of African countries with longstanding European ties. Will it wait equally long before getting tough with its new European partners? I would be guilty of abdicating its re-

Algerian Islamists spill more French blood

COMMENT

Jacques de Barrin

HIS week's official two-day L visit to Algeria by the French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, was brought to a tragic conclusion on August 1 when Monsignor Pierre Claverle, the Bishop of Oran, whom he had met earlier that same day, was dilled by a bomb on his return to the bishop's palace. The 58-year-old Claverie, who

is the 104th foreigner and 19th member of the clergy to have een murdered in the past three years of violence, was a leading figure of the Catholic church in Algeria. An outspoken and fearless opponent of the fundamentalist strand of Islam, he liked to describe himself as a "Christian

The murder, in all likelihood the work of a faction of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), was clearly intended as a chilling message to the French foreign minister, who had come to Algeria in the hope that his

meeting with President Liamine Zéroual would enable relations between the two countries to get off to "a new start".

Marked by persistent mutual suspicion and a long series of misunderstandings, Franco-Algerian relations seem to be perpetually getting off to "a new start". Good intentions have often been rapidly swept away by the many obstacles that various parties have placed in the way of a genuine and dispassionate dialogue between the two countries, which, as the French say, "have much to say to each other" and "much to do Some of the most virulent

opponents of that dialogue have been those groups in Algeria that clock their craving for power with religious trappings. They know when to go for the "right" targets at the "right" time, kidnapping and later slaughtering seven Trappist monks from the Tibébirine Monastery in May, and now assassinating the Bishop of Oran.

There could be no more wisted way of telling France which is trying not to cut off the ines of communication with the Algerian government and wants to defend its own genuine interests in that country - that whatever happens the French no longer have any business to be in Algeria. Obviously the French cannot

have joined the Council of Europe

since the collapse of the Soviet bloc

have made plenty of promises, but only rarely honoured them. These

had to do mainly with ratification of

the Convention on Human Rights.

the abolition of capital punishment,

the recognition of minorities and

ow to such terrorist warnings, nor can they "make themselves scarce" while the regime gets its act together - an unlikely event — and brings back the rule of law to a country with which France has no choice but to Just because the French

government has shown mmitigated hostility towards what Prosident Jacques Chirac has described as the "barbaric excesses" of religious fanaticism does not mean that it should feel obliged to keep its mouth shut . with regard to a regime, such as President Zéroual's, which shows so little respect for the norms of democracy. (August 2)

Drugs tempt Peru's military

Nicole Bonnet in Lima

TN HIS traditional message to L Congress on July 28, Peru's indesendence day, President Alberto ulimori announced that he was suspending international commercial transport services carried out by the navy and air force "in order to curb the infiltration of cocaine trafficking into the armed forces".

"I am the first to recognise the gravity of the discovery of drugs in an air force plane and on two navy vessels," he added, in May, 174kg of pure cocaine was found in a former ling to France and Russia to get military equipment repaired. Last month 100kg of the drug was discovered in two ships that had put in at Vancouver and Peru's port of Callao.

in January, following a long series of scandals that had tarnished the reputation of army officers involved since 1993 in the fight against drug trafficking in the tropical valleys where coca is grown, President Fujimori decided to transer those operations to the police.

The decision to put the army in charge of fighting drug trafficking

was a serious mistake," says Diego Garcia Sayan, president of the Andean Commission of Jurists. "How ever, it was virtually unavoidable given the interconnection of terror

ism and drug trafficking." The defence minister, Tomas Castillo, has described the president's latest move as "correct, even though it will have a serious effect on the army's budget". He confirmed that an air force group captain and two naval commanders have been brought before the supreme military court on charges of "offences committed in the course of duty".

and police officers have been charged with collusion with drug traffickers. The basic problem is the very low pay received by those in the security forces. Police officers earn about \$120 a month, while an army general gets \$500, nearly 30 tinues less than a senior civil servant.

Drug traffickers are prepared to offer \$10,000 to anyone who allows a small plane packed with drugs to take off. And they will fork out at least 10 times that amount to get a mafioso released from detention. (July 31)



Gash-Barka, Eritrea

The Southwestern lowlands of Eritrea have the greatest agricultural potential of the

resulted in half the population fleeing to the Sudan. Substantial progress has been

made to rehabilitate and rebuild the health infrastructure for the estimated 125,000 returnees and 475,000 longer-term residents, it should be noted that there are still

SCF opened an office in Asmara in 1992 and is assisting the government in the

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whole of Eritree. It was the most contested area during the 30 year war, which

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Ministry of Health for Western Lowlands Health

returnees have chosen this region to resettle.

HEALTH ADVISER

Doing the three-card trick

Jean-Michel Frodon reviews Eric Rohmer's latest film leading film critic André Bazin, has and, right, asks the 76-year-old director about his work

T IS the film critic's lot to re- 1 ema: each of his movies is an indiview films one by one, as they come out. Any parallels between movies, if they are at all meaningful (which they are usually not), depend on the vagaries of film distributors and their schedules.

The risk then is that one fails to see to what extent some directors build up a genuine neutre. By oeuvre I mean a corpus whose sum is superior to, and possibly different in character from, its constituent elements - however successful each film may be individually.

Since making his first feature, Lo Signe du Lion (The Sign Of Leo), in 1959 the French film-maker Eric Rohmer, aged 76, has built up one of the most coherent and ambitious ocuvres in the history of world

ally deliberate way, as can be judged from his fondness for grouping most of his movies into series, such as "Six Contes Moraux" (Six Moral Tales), "Comédies et Proverbes" (Cornedies and Proverbs) and "Contes des Quatre Saisons" (Tales of the Four Seasons).

Similarly, he regularly publishes heoretical texts on film aesthetics, which echo his early work as a film critic in the fifties, and has set up his own production company, Les Films du Losange, which allows him complete artistic freedom.

But it is the recurrence of themes and situations, and the playing out of various types of emotional relationships and mechanisms in various configurations, that are the most characteristic feature of his cinema.

small numbers of basic elements, as a chemist might do." There is not only a Rohmer style and tone, but a whole cinematic philosophy whose vehicle is a systematic pattern stylish enough to masquerade as a game, often played out by youthful characters. That, of course, does not mean that in order to appreciate Conte d'Eté (A Summer's Tale) -the third in his "Contes des Quatres Saisons" series, after Conte d'Hiver (A Winter's Tale) and Conte de Printemps (A Tale Of Springtime)

you need to have seen Rohmer's 20 previous features or mugged up on his theoretical work on the cin-

vidual entity, with its own vitality and perfectly accessible attractions. The protagonist of the "game" is a always subscribed.

That "impurity" is to be seen in his

combination of a documentary ap-

proach to place and behaviour with a

theatrical stylisation of situation and

vocabulary. The discrepancy be-

tween these approaches generates a

Conte d'Eté recalls classical bur-

lesque cinema, with its disjointed

construction, abruptly discursive

parrative and combination of chance

and logic. As is often the case with

Buster Keaton movies, Gaspard's ex

periences would, if filmed differently

form the stuff of high drama — hi

threefold failure in love is not in itself

a particularly happy experience. But

it would be drama, not tragedy,

which requires the intervention of a

higher, external force; fate, Here, the

In this sense Conte d'Été is very

much in keeping with Rohmer's whole oeuvre, and is all the more in-

teresting for precisely that reason.

The first two tales in the "Contes des

Quatre Salsons" series are symmetri-cal philosophical fables. Spring is the

setting for a Cartesian approach

which, when it comes up against the

problem of doubt, enables an out-

nouement in which the woman pro-

tagonist's obstinacy overcomes the

obstacles placed in her way by real-

ity. The two films are also examples

of two different approaches to the re-

tionship between fact and fiction.

an open-ended version where the

series of different possibilities ends

with an act of evasion. But it is an

From the point of view of the

secrets and have rows, make

cal fieldwork and travelogue.

evasion full of promise.

In Conte d'Eté Rohmer opts for

only factors in the equation are the

use and abuse of free will.

subtle, often caustic, humour.

dark good-looking young man, Gas-pard (Melvil Poupand), who arrives alone, with his guitar, to spend his holidays at the Breton seaside resort of Dinard. He has to contend with the rival attentions of three women. Léna (Aurélia Nolin), the wilful girl he is already in love with, is due to join him soon. Meanwhile he meets the friendly, talkative Margot (Amanda Langlet), who is warm and sensitive. Then he is physically attracted to Solene (Gwenaëlle Simon). At that point Lena turns up, and Gaspard oses out on all three counts.

Caught in a female triangle not of his own making, Gaspard is by no means just a pretty boy who plays hard to get; nor could he even be described as a ditherer. Rather, he plays along for a time with the successive scenarios proposed by the three women. The scenarios are logical enough individually, but mutually incompatible, and none blos soms into a successful relationship.

OHMER turns this flimsy plot into a delightful film.
The light, graceful way he sets up his three-card trick, his care ful, delicate use of colour, the precision of his framing and his sense o pace are bewitching.

The long scenes of dialogue on the beach that punctuate Gaspard's bumpy emotional ride are marvellously subtle in their nuances of meaning, and never without justification. Equally justified is Rohmer's decision to make his characters environment, for the whole socialised game they are playing is not in any way natural.

Only love would be natural. Only love would reconcile them with the world around them. But love is not on the agenda — or rather only intermittently and for want of anything better.

Conte d'Eté is also consistently funny. The humour is generated in the most spontaneous way by the intelligence of the mise-en-scène, but also by an emphasis on the notion of aided in this by his four young cinema's "impurity" to which actors, who could not have been bet-Rohmer, a faithful disciple of the terchosen for their parts.

Geometrical configurations of love's eternal triangles

HOW does Conte d'Eté fit into the "Contes des Quatre

It is another variation on my usual theme: the relationship between young people — a man and several women, or a woman and several men. All my movies centre on the problem of choice. It's a seri-

But you have to know how to pattern. In the "Contes Moraux", for instance, a man loves a woman, and before making his final decision he s seduced by another woman. Then lie goes back to the first.

In the "Contes des Quatre Saisons' series, there will be a symmetry between the first one I made, in 1989. Conte de Printemps, and the one I have yet to make, Conte d'Automne, just as there has been between the two I made in between, Conte d'Hiver and Conte d'Eté.

Conte d'Hiver portrays a woman and three women. In the first film, the woman has an idée fixe; in the second, the man has no clear idea of what he wants. Conte d'Hiver has a conclusion, while Conte d'Eté is

At the time I was making the "Contes Moraux" [between 1962] and 1972], I used to joke that I worked on a computer, even though I don't even know how a computer works. But I was in fact using a combinatory process that tried to exliaust every possibility.

But the difference with a computer is that although my point of departure is mathematical, it is followed by many more sub-themes and variants than planned. If you find the right point of departure, the components should combine of their own accord in countless ways.
The work of many artists, not just film-makers, is composed in that way. A work of art is not a work of

To my mind, that very strict ramework is crucial, though not enough in itself. You also need to draw inspiration from life. Conversely, many directors are happy just to tell their life story in their films, but what is lacking is a sense of transposition, architecture and come to be logically constructed, while winter involves a chance déconstruction. However, form is not purely geometrical, and doesn't inoive appearances alone.

> You have argued that the artist is usually unaware of the form he or she is creating. How is that ossible in your case, since ou're a creator and a theorist?

It strikes me that classical directors such as Chaplin, Keaton, Murnau, Lang, Renoir and Hitchcock were not necessarily aware of form. whereas modern film-makers take a Rohmer palette, Conte d'Eté is a riot closer interest in it. When Cézanne seem out of kilter with their natural | of colour. Rarely has he tackled so | said that nature was made of trianmany registers in a single film. The gles, cylinders and cones, he was ware of that search for form.

churacters sing and converse, share Although my films are narrativebased — with a beginning and an promises and set each other chalend — I regard myself as a modern lenges. There are grand statements of principle, moments of selffilm-maker, like other directors of analysis, and elements of ethnologimy generation. Jean-Luc Godard and Jacques Rivette are also theo-This richness of substance, which reticians. But I don't theorise about Rohmer orchestrates so its various my own films - at least not in adelements merge, overlap and echo vance. And when I'm shooting, I don't think about that kind of thing each other, results in a film of uninterrupted momentum. He is greatly

> Did vou make Conte d'Eté at about the same time that you

were writing Du Mozart en Beethoven, your book on music just published by Actes Sud?

Yes, it was a coincidence. I'd been thinking about the film, whose story line is partly based on things experienced when I was a teenager, for a long time. And I had also long vanted to write a book about music.

There's a lot of talk about music n the film, but not about the kind of music I discuss in the book. And vary things. Each series follows a that musical element was also coincidental: I waited a long time between making Conte d'Hiver and Conte d'Eté because I was having difficulty in finding the right actor

When I met Melvil Poupaud and realised he was the person I'd been looking for, I discovered he also played music. Hence the idea of vorking a song into the movie.

You've always operated on low budgets and with a small crew. Have you changed that approach

I feel no nostalgia for oldashioned techniques. The first article I wrote was in favour of colour, which was regarded at the time — the beginning of the fifties — as a vulgar innovation. I was one the first people working in the rinema to use radio microphones, ir La Femme de l'Aviateur (The Aviator's Wife) in 1980. Conte d'Eté was shot with digital sound, and the sound mixing was done on comouter, not in a dubbing studio.

The only thing I do feel attached o is screen shape. I prefer the old almost square 1.33:1 width-to-heigh ratio to the wider 1.66:1, which i shown in cinemas in 1.66:1, but it will be possible to see it in 1.33:1 on television without any of the picture

being cut off...
I attach great importance to small crew. If you don't have to se up too much equipment, you can shoot anywhere without drawing altention to yourself. The shooting of Conte d'Eté was like that of L Collectionneuse 30 years ago in that I used iust as few technicians and

scenery so unusually beautiful?

All I know is that there was no artifice, no additional lighting. and Diane Baratier, my cinematographer, chose our lenses so they wouldn't be too "good" or too "crisp" - we didn't want the photography to look like that of a TV

I like 16mm images and their softer colours, and wanted to produce something similar. As the natural scenery plays no part in the action of the film, there was a risk it might be reduced to little more than

How is Conte d'Automne coming

It's still at the project stage. I haven't yet found the location or actors. The whole thing could still change. All I know is that I will

Le Monde

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Programme

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Closing date: 28 August 1996. UNIVERSITY OF ZULLULAND

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Competitive salary and benefits appropriate to the US non-profit sector will be provided. Applicants should forward cover letter and resume by mail to: World und, Human Resources, Dept 545, 1250 24th Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. NO FAX OR TELEPHONE INQUIRIES PLEASE, AAJEOE

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QUALIFICATIONS Master's degree in Public Houlth with 5-7 years experience; experience in budget and monitoring a must; management skills, experience and knowledge of reproductive health issues, STD/AIDS and community health approach necessary; good interpersonal skills essential as much of project requires working with partners; Kiswahili language skills is a rest

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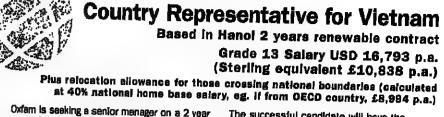
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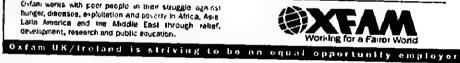
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In Ifugao tradition the dead are transported from one relative's house to another to give the whole extended family a chance to mourn. 'Mourning" is a loose term, as the funeral is more like a fiesta, espe-cially if the deceased is old. And this was the case with Uncle's mother. Born (apparently) in 1903 and the last of a generation, her death was a chance to really push the boat out. So once we had removed our-

selves from the office, the funeral entourage duly arrived. We heard it first — a clanging of gongs and the shouts of drunken old men leading the pack. Then we saw it — the coffin was propped up precariously on the shoulders of different-sized young men as they negotiated it

down the stony path.

The "funeral" had already been going on for nine days and nights out we were assured our homeless status would last for only four days before the party continued on elsewhere. Fair enough. Then we found out they had been butchering a pig every day to feed the masses and that a cow and carabao would be consumed on Monday. For the poor people of this province this is a great financial burden - a pig is worth a couple of months' income, cow much more. But Uncle's dead nother, Ina, had produced countless grand- and great-grandchildren. respect was due.

The coffin was finally laid to rest a makeshift parlour amid the office computers, decked out with garish wall hangings with Ina's full name spelt out in pink lettering taped to pieces of tinfoil. A double picture frame showed a youthful Ina n black and white and a more wrinkled portrait in colour. Inside the coffin, she had been made up to look 20 years younger than her last picture, with bright orange lipstick caked on to puckered lips and

unaware of hia, lying inside with candle was dripping on her coffin.

and agreeing with each other a lot.

The next morning we went back to assess the damage. Gambling was still going strong but some bodies were cheekily sprawled in Uncle's flowerbed getting some shut-eye. And despite Bon Jovi blaring out of the karaoke machine at the foot of the coffin, Ina hadn't

of the penis, are a prime site for her-

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We reported to the office sometime in the morning, the hour with beautiful native blankets, probably the first time she'd ever been near such expensive cloth.

The festivities began outside, be neath a tattered canvas that was leaking badly from a heavy afternoon downpour. The cries of the daily pig filled the air as it was dispatched unceremoniously into huge boiling vats. The cook, an old native priest, told us quietly but not so soberly: "We're not so civilised 'cos we burn the hair off. You see. Burn it all off, Not so civilised. No, definitely uncivilised." We had to disagree later when the very civilised tasting chunks of meat arrived. In between mouthfuls the priest announced in a deafening voice, "Pagan practice. It's the same as Catholicism. Oh yes. The seven Sacraments, They're all

enth sacrament, the gongs were warming up again and young men in camouflage shorts were spinning round drunkenly, arms flailing in supposed praise of those pagan deities that live beneath and above the earth. Bottles of beer and gin were consumed with great rapidity, the red stain of betel-chewing grew to pool-sized proportions in the dirt. Others gathered round gambling tables, where large sums of money were being ferociously wagered. At one side the women and girls were having a more modest flutter at bingo. Everyone seemed

there. You see." Amen.

By Hom we'd had enough festivity and peeled away quietly. To the hardcore mourners it would be shameful to miss one minute of the action and lolling old men were desperately fighting off sleep. Their gong-playing came in fits and bursts as they summoned up endless "secand winds". The old women sat stoically in plastic chairs, oblivious to the noise, spitting red betel juice

native earrings dangling from stiff stirred all night. Maybe lobes. The coffin had been adorned the end of the twentieth. stirred all night. Maybe she will by

family's aerial reconnaissance of the neighbourhood has not been easy recently. Each black form is harried in turn by a determined bird barely a third of its size, whose raucous cries encourage the crow to flee. The mockingbird defended his nesting territory with vigour from these acrial predators. His duty done, he alights on my roof and neighbouring pair of mockingbirds. I could listen to this for hours. His confident, liquid voice delights me with a steady stream of birdsongs that blend seamlessly together. One moment, I am listening to a perfect cardinal imitation, then to two or three equally fluent birdsongs I cannot identify. Are they birds that

chastened by this display, slips away but he is seen and chased with the same raucous abuse that was hurled at the crows. Sometimes there is a scuffle across the lawn, with the mockingbirds swirling and grappling with their feet. While the nest is active, my dog, my neigh bours' cats, and even I will not be ment. The mockingbird will descend on us like an avenging fury. and we will scurry to safety. But, some hot summer night, he will be forgiven. His voice will suddenly soar out of the blackness and he will serenade the night with a fluid stream of known and unknown songs. There is an aching loveliness in birdsong sung in solitude, in the

The hero they love to hate

A Hollywood blockbuster about an Irish 'freedom fighter' might seem a propaganda nightmare for the UK government. But Michael Collins was different. He was killed by the IRA. Flachra Gibbons reports

HERE is a moment in Neil | the end of the Empire and the parti-Jordan's powerful new film about Michael Collins, the Irish independence hero, when you think: "This will never see the light of day." For it breaks the biggest taboo of all — it tries to tell the truth. And the truth about Ireland can be awkward at times like this.

So John Major, Gerry Adams, David Trimble and a rump of fivepint nationalists in the Dublin Dail all have reason to undermine it. But its greatest sin is that it will be a huge hit. An art-house film about a half-forgotten revolutionary they could have handled — a blockbuster on the Braveheart scale is another matter. For Michael Collins will rescue Julia Roberts's career and Oscars are already being talked of for Liam Neeson and Aidan Quinn.

Even before a scene was shot, the attacks had started. Conservative rightwingers called it an "IRA film" and an "anti-British travesty", while republicans accused Jordan of glorifying a man they killed as a traitor. Just watch how this unholy alliance of people, who won't even sit in the peace, kicks in to condemn the film.

No wonder studio bosses are nervous about releasing it in Britain. Producer Stephen Woolley said: "If it's all about trying to stop us show-

ing it here, they won't succeed."

If anything, it is a closely argued plea for peace, following Collins from the débacle of the Easter Rising of 1916, through the Anglo-Irish war, to his death at the hands of the IRA in the civil war in 1922. It is hardly Jordan's fault if, having shone a light into a dark corner of shared history, we cannot bear to look.

Making a film in the mire of Irish politics is never easy — especially not a love story like this one — when the eestatic reaction of US test audiences only raise suspicions in Britain of anti-Englishness. But Jordan has walked this minefield before with The Crying Game, his Oscarwinning film of a disillusioned IRA gunman who falls in love with transvestite. Seen as "political" is Britain, it bombed first time before reopening, post-Oscars, in triumph.

Jordan was exasperated then he is angry now. To call Michael Collins an IRA film is contemptible. Some of Yeats's best poetry covered the same period. Is it now to be called IRA poetry? . . . The reason people object to it is because they object to a film about him at ail."

Michael Collins makes every politician who came after him seem a pygmy. That is why he has been so horoughly written out of history. and why this film is so important.

Collins was a freedom fighter to some, a terrorist to others, who won yet was prepared to compromise quickly for peace. When he signed the treaty that secured it, he said: "I have signed my own death warthe bloody civil war between nationalists that followed the foundation of the Irish Free State. He was am-

tion of Ireland. He will never be fully forgiven for either.

The power of the Collins myth is not what he did - though he was a legend in his lifetime - but what he might have done had he lived. The tragedy is that bombs might not be going off in London now if he had.

Hollywood has been fascinated by him for 50 years. It's not hard to see why. Collins has the mythic power of JFK, Che Guevara and Lawrence of Arabia rolled into one — handsome, brave, charismatic and prepared to kill without mercy if necessary.

Part Scarlet Pimpernel, part lolloping country lad, he loved to quote Peter Pan and — being younger and better-looking than Liam Neeson, who plays him in the film - was something of a heart-breaker when not wrestling (he wrecked several offices during impromptu bouts).

The Laughing Boy, as he was called, often cycled around Dublin with £50,000 under his hat the was rebel minister of finance), joking with the soldiers searching for him and cursing "Collins, that Fenian cur from Cork". Yet he also invented urban guerrilla warfare and masterminded one of the most ruthlessly successful counter-espionage campaigns. Even so, Collins cried as he sent men to their deaths.

He was a mass of contradictions but a director's dream of a modern, enigmatic anti-hero. Huston, Cimino and Costner became obsessed with him but, despite having clout in Hollywood, politics and money got in the way of their films.

Collins was an inspiration to every anti-colonial movement after him. Mao studied him, KGB textbooks gave him a whole chapter and

It breaks the biggest taboo of all - it tries to tell the truth and the truth for Ireland can be awkward

Yitzhak Shamir used the codename "Micail" as a tribute to him during Israel's war of independence.

Filming in Ireland was out of the question during the long life of his friend-turned-enemy, Earnon De Valera, who some accuse still of ordering his death. Then the Troubles erupted and the subject became a no-no with the studios.

The IRA ceasefire gave Jordan his moment. David Putmam — another Collins obsessive — commissioned a script from him in 1982 after his first film, Angel. It sat in his desk for more than a decade before he dared resurrect it. "Like Lazarus, it wouldn't lie down. When I first wrote the script I called up Liam Neeson and said that if we ever got to do this, I wanted to rant." Nine months later he was | do it with him. Since then, every dead, killed by his old comrades in | time I finished a film I would ask

Warners: 'Can I do it now?' " Jordan's success with Interview With The Vampire gave him the bushed while trying to set up a muscle, a guarantee of total freedom truce with Eamon De Valera, who | and \$28 million to make it. It was refused to accept the creation of | shot in the last summer of the cease-



Real life, reel life: Michael Collins (above) and as portrayed by Liam Neeson in Neil Jordan's film

million. Julia Roberts did it for a hundredth of her usual fee . . . and we got 8,000 extras for nothing, people were so keen to get involved."

The film revolves around the relationship between Collins, his best friend, Harry Boland (Aidan Quinn) and the woman they both fell in love with, Kitty Kiernan (Julia Roberts). Collins and Boland ended up on opposite sides in the civil war, though Collins tried to save his friend on the night he was killed, if not quite in the manner depicted. De Valera (the excellent Alan Rickman) is a Machiavellian strategist, slippery as a Vaselined ecl, who stitches Collins

up by sending him to negotiate an impossible treaty in London and then refuses to accept the vote that endorsed it. It is from this refusal to accept the democratic will of the people that the present IRA claims its legitimacy. "What interests me", said ordan, "is how the relationships be ween people can determine what appens to whole countries."

The treaty negotiations are left out, as is the vexed question of whether Collins died a virgin -- one doubts it after discovery how he nobbed his way round London socifelt sick. First I thought: 'That's it.' ety during the talks. The beautiful (and married) Lady Lavery, who later graced the Irish pound note, must know the why and how if it is had to be dissuaded from wearing widow's weeds to his funeral.

eral bloody Sundays in modern Irish history. The attrition is scrupulously

balanced, the killings up-close and

brutal. No glamour here. Collins's

boys, and many were boys, shoot an

agent in front of his pregnant wife.

who then miscarries. Another is shot

in the bath, his killer almost too petri-

Jordan does not mope over injus

tice or dwell on reprisal. He is a

crisp, unsentimental storyteller; you

cannot but be moved. He has never

lost more sleep over a film: "l'il

it dramatically and I think I have. It

is a very true film. I had to combine

a few of the people into composite

characters but in spirit it is correct.

and anyone who knows anything

about the period will see that.

fied to pull the trigger.

to stop. "In the life of one person you can But Jordan sticks pretty rigidly to historical fact, with a script built tell the events that formed the north and south of Ireland as they are mainly from letters and reported today. I can only think that the reaspeech. Oddly, the bits that might jar with English audiences are the most son it hasn't been made into a film before is the reticence and embaraccurate. The machine-gun massa-cre by soldiers of the football crowd rassment after the brutality of the civil war, and the killing of Collins n Croke Park in reprisal for Collins's nimself, and the political reticence because of the continuing conflict in the North. Not telling it will not it squad, the Twelve Apostles, wipng out all of British Intelligence's agents in Ireland in one morning, did nelp, it might do the oppo happen. It was to be the first of sev-

The story had to be told through Collins's eyes. He was very young when he died and he was someone thrown up by the times. After the 1916 Rising, all these young guys emerged from rural and workingclass backgrounds and they changed the whole politics of the country. They were making up the rules as they were going along. It's the story of the confusion of youth as much as anything else.

O'Brien would subscribe to, which

says everything was fine and no-

body should have been killed. But

how often has independence been

achieved without bloodshed? Very

rarely. They could never win a con-

ventional war. Remember, unlike

care, concentrating on the upper echelons of the establishment and

he intelligence services, that is why

ne was so effective. He had no com-

ounction in having someone killed if

he felt they were a danger to him.

And you have to remember most of

dan. "When the ceasefire ended I

Then I thought: 'No, it is even more

reportant now that it is seen. People

History came back to haunt Jor-

these British agents were Irish."

"Collins used force with great

now, these people had a mandate,

"The film is about the awfulness of the savagery and the absolute necessity of the savagery at the same time. never make a more important one. I | The more I researched it, the more I wanted to make it as accurate as | was struck by the sheer heroism of possible without completely killing | the period allied to the appallingly intimate nature of the violen

Roy Foster, Professor of Irish History at Oxford, and a leading revisionist, has reservations about this: "I balk at the idea of the absolute necessity of the carnage. That is a Niet-Northern Ireland. He was 31. He have anything to do where else, it would have cost \$100 Irish history, which Conor Cruise | zschean view of history, as if Collins | have anything to do where else, it would have cost \$100 Irish history, which Conor Cruise | were a superman thrown up by the tory. I've had enough."

times. His conditioning was less pre that. I think it owes a lot to his experience as an emigrant in London. He was a complex, talented character and a myth even before he died. To make him into a film noir hero or a Tarantino-style protagonist is not

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Jordan denies he has done this ut agrees Collins was far from being anti-English and was in fact quite anti-clerical, unlike the chronically hung-up De Valera who wanted to turn the Republic into a confessional state. "During the treaty negotiations he took to English society and it took to him . . But militarily Collins was good at mayhem, as he called it himself, and he basically made the British state unworkable. Allied to that capacity for violence was the ability to see when it had to stop and when political means and negotiations would be the only way forward. He died in his attempt to make that

Stephen Woolley, Jordan's long-time producer, said: "We have a tendency to put our heads in the sand when it comes to Ireland. That must not happen with this movie. Collins has been an inspiration to so many - even the ANC studied him. The American reaction has been wonderful. It has got the second-best test ratings of any Warner picture ever. They just see it as the movies.

The film will get its first public screening later this month at the Venice Film Festival and will be released later in the year. Warners are giving it the full Oscar push.

Eoghan Harris, who scripted rival Kevin Costner picture that lost an almost visceral hatred of republi cans, has no doubts of the potency of the story. Nor that during the treaty talks and the civil war Collins went through a Gethaemane of wor ry and grief. "There's no point it pretending there isn't the resonance of a young man almost the same age as Christ when he was crucified make ing his way to his own execution."

Jordan is now in his own Gethse mane. "I'm glad I made it but I'm not making any more films that have anything to do with Irish his-

Art of nature . . . One of Andy Goldsworthy's drystone sheepfolds, partly funded by a National Lottery

Lottery pays out for moorland artistry

THE National Lottery achieved a novel double last week by launching pigs into the sky while paying £340,000 on artistic enclosures for sheep, writes Martin Wainwright.

The weekly gamble's persistent ability to generate interest — and taproom discussion — was borne out again by the start of Pigs Might Fly scratchcards with unprecedented odds of 1:3.97 for a win, and backing for a mil-

lennial network of sheepfolds. The workaday drystone circles scattered across the Cumbrian fells from the Solway Firth to Coniston Water receive one of the biggest of a tranche of lottery grants from the Arts Council, which described the vast project as "undoubtedly art". The folds

are the biggest fillip for the dry-stone-walling profession for years, with 30 jobs guaranteed until 2000.

Five years' work by the professional teams, directed by Yorkshire sculptor Andy Goldsworthy, aged 40, will see 100 sheepfolds restored or embellished with stone conesornamenul slate and sculptural use of the lime, gritstone and other rocks that characterise the

nountainous region. aising the balance for the £680,000 project from the European Community,

Farmers in the fell country. who face persistent erosion of drystone walls by weather.

of sheep, have formed a queue to apply for "Goldsworthying". according to Visual Arts in the North, which adopted the folds bery bar*r*ier between art

Cumbria county council is

programme as part of a £70 milon attempt to "crack the snobgalleries and the public". The artist has, however, resisted attempts to add corners to his circles to suit modern farmers. who find square pinfolds easier for catching sheep.

Mr Goldsworthy describes the project as in the great tradition of

English landscape painting, with the landscape itself being used instend of a palette and brush. He said: "I think I am giving some of my best work to Cumbria, so I am

elighted that this project is getting lottery support."

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

HY does drinking cider through a straw increase

RINKING any alcohol through D a straw, especially steadily and slowly, increases the amount of direct absorption through the tongue and oral mucosa. This alcohol is directly absorbed into the bloodstream, bypassing the liver. It thus avoids a first-pass metabolism that is the fate of any alcohol that is absorbed in the stomach and passes through the portal vein and liver before entering the general bloodstream. The effect is therefore faster and somewhat greater in magnitude. — Nigel Bardsley, Sno homish, Washington, USA

N THE early part of this century, farmers were still making their own cider vinegar, which was stored in wooden barrels laid on their sides with a bung hole on top, to prevent the barrel from exploding as the cider turned into vinegar. As a child I that doctors who omit this prelimiremember climbing on top of the barrel and literally sucking cider warm their hands. — Dr Bob Heys, through a straw for the first day or two before the acidity had increased to the state of vinegar. Modern cider, of course, has a preservative added

One would need more than a straw to make the intoxicating French cider of Normandy. - Frances Moore, Blue Bell, Pennsylvania, USA

WHY DO we use a tick-mark to indicate written agreement or approval?

T IS a letter V, standing for the Latin verus, meaning true, and would be used by schoolm the days when Latin played a prominent part in education. — John Horsley, Cottingham, East Yorkshire

WHY DO medical practitioners sometimes examine a ale aubject by thrusting their hands into his underpan requesting him to cough?

T IS usual first to ask the patient to drop his pants so as to confirm Ripponden, Halifax

THIS test allows the practitioner I to examine for hernias. When to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Famingto keep it from turning into vinegar: you cough, the pressure in your ab- don Road, London EC1M 3HQ

Any answers?

domen is raised, which can force

the abdominal contents out if the pressure is high enough. Two natu-

rally occurring openings in the wall

of the abdomen, just above the base

/ /HO, and on what authority / V and criteria, decides which documents and papers should be barred from public access for ong periods, as often happens. Is there any right of appeal by the public? — IV K Purdie, Marlow Buckinghamshire

more than double the price of the paperback version? Why do we then have to walt for so long to buy a paperback copy? — Sue Leyland, Hunmanby, North Yorkshire

Answers should be e-mailed to veekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted

nias. - Gavin Dreyer, Wembley, A Country Diary

Elizabeth Oltenacu

hops up from the roof, lets the wind catch his wings, then alights a THACA, NEW YORK: The crow couple of feet from his starting point. There is a blur as his rival, begins a verbal assault on the safe from the same abusive treatsing in our woods, or does he learn them on his travels? Sporadically, he stillness of the night.

Legally

THEATRE

unbound

Michael Billington

THE Chichester Festival audi-

ence chuckled and gurgled merrily at Jude Kelly's sprightly

tarry revival of J B Priestley's

Married: not altogether unrea-

iar comedy about three stuffy

in the course of their silver

legally hitched.

wedding, that they were never

Priestley's target, as in An

Inspector Calls, is bourgeols

hypocrisy. The three couples

chapel-going respectability but

priggishness. And their mar-

picked up a fancy woman in -

the men, in particular, turn on a

gallivanting organist with vicious

riages are all seen to be based on

a lie. A pompous alderman has

Blackpool. A sententious cour

tyrant who has suppressed his

wife's enpacity for joy. Even the

Soppitt is shown to be a worm

who for years has been longing

to turn. Strip away the pious

middle-class facade, suggests

cowed, henpecked Herbert

cillor is revealed as a miserly

pride themselves on their

somably since the play is a famil

Yorkshire couples who discover.

1938 play When We Are

to Desmond Lynam" - are "Intro-

ducing talent new to television". Remind me why the young are so miserable, I've forgotten, Endearingly, Downward Nobility (Channel 4). Dominic Allan's documentary in a season for new directors, was a cheerful little thing. It followed. Sophie, John and Tony, three blots on the family escutcheon.

Sophie Buchan Watt, flamehaired and vampire pale, is related to the Duke of Hamilton. Following what her mother calls a contretemps, she left for New York. where she works as an exotic dancer. Her manner is distrait. She says she's exploring the female icon.

The exotic dance was a flapper version of Happy Birthday Mr President. She wore mostly a dazed expression and a cocktail hat. I quite liked it.

The dinner party to welcome her home included a man explaining why cats fall on their feet and a doggedly cheery chap playing the banjo. Sophie and a friend were discussing a mutual boyfriend, tensely.

All the parents were superbly long suffering and, in Tony's case. even odder than their child. His mother prefers to call herself Lady Hamilton, and who wouldn't? She said: "Recause you're a titled family. you want to have a certain amount of decorum. I mean, Que será, será." I think I'll have a lemonade," said Mr Hamilton, retreating to the kitchen. "Not too much cider," said

Lady Hamilton percipiently.

The Lady Guns (BBC1) is a docamentary that has obviously hung about for a year not getting riper and riper, like a dead pheasant, but

longer and longer, like a dead cat. A kamikaze pheasant livened things up by trying to brain Fioua Martin, who had shot it. Her mother was also bombed by a bird, which fractured her skull. "And she still

long shadow of a famous documentary, The Shooting Party. That was Nancy Banks-Smith ferociously funny. This was very pretty. The countryside, melting with September mist, yoohooed

over everyone's shoulder. Women who shoot are tolerated

with a very poor grace. Amanda Congreve, pretty, debby, newly married and touchingly trying to share her husband's pleasures, got short shrift. The only thing I slightly resent is that sometimes she still behaves a bit much of a sort of female." (You wouldn't guess Ralph was descended from the Congreve.) "To do it properly, she really needs to behave as a man would, then she will get far more re

The shooting instructor was very jokey about hormones, periods and maternity knickers. Surprising that more chaps don't get both barrels in the backside.

THE MISTS and frosty sunsets I were elegiac. The landed gentry scem to feel a melancholy, long withdrawing roar as the tide turns against all blood sports.

They have a colourful ally in Eric Bettelheim, an American lawyer. He arrived to rally the troops and raise money for the shooting lobby. "Eighty to 85 per cent of the population of this country thinks that you are murderous bastards and that your motivation is bloodlust and greed, if you don't raise this money and if we don't spend it effectively you are history.

The rows of foursquare Yorkshire faces looked solidly back.

The maharajahs, who preserved the Bandhavgarh forests of India to shoot tiger, are history now but the and survive.

Survival Special (Anglia) was Ashish Chandola's two-year record of this ravishing creature, with its choking grown that sounds like "Oh!

The most powerful images were not of beauty nor terror. An old tiger limped towards death, its coat black. as if the stripes had closed like shutters, and a blind cub waited to die. has slight double vision." ters, and a blind cub waited to die lost in its own forest of the night.



Strange fruit

CINEMA

Derek Malcolm

OALD DAHL resisted several attempts to make James and the Giant Peach into a film. No doubt he feared soul-stripping Disneyfication. But Tim Burton and Henry Selick, makers of Nightmare Before Christmas, though working for Disney on this occasion, were never likely to comply with the usual rules.

Their film, a mixture of live action, stop-motion animation and computer-generated imagery, looks utterly unlike Hunchback Of Notre Dame, and inhabits a different world of expectation.

It needs to, in order to handle Dahl's weird plot about a young boy whose parents are eaten by an angry rhino, who then finds himself at the mercy of cruel, avaricious aunts. We enter even deeper realms of fantasy as James bites a magic peach and goes to live inside it with a bevy of outsize insects for protection.

h's a bit too near the bone to be accomplished in an orthodox way and James's adventures are tackled without a hint of sentimentality; instead, we are presented with animation that reminds us of classic European figures, like Starewitz. Typically, Disney's screenwriters figures, like Starewitz.

have insisted on bookending liveaction sequences, in which Miriam Margolyes and Joanna Lumley become over-the-top caricatures of

But it's the animation that counts; when James turns from Paul Terry into a 3D animated figure, the film reaches a new level of inventiveness with grasshoppers, centipedes, spi-ders and earthworms competing for our attention. The insects' voices include those of Simon Callow, Richard Dreyfuss, Susan Sarandon and David Thewlis. Set-pieces and minor detail are accomplished with great technical resource and flair

The film portrays the rhino that eats James's parents as a nightmare figure and the peach a kind of drifting home from home. In the book, the boy's adventure is less coherent

more like a pungent dream. That said, Burton and Selick have created some spectacular imagery. And at least a portion of Dahl's spleudidly crooked view of childhood remains, despite the Randy Newman songs and the glib psychology. Like Nightmare Before Christmas, it's an uneven package. But when it's good, it's very good indeed.

The world may have had a terrible year in 1939, but it wasn't bad year of Gone With The Wind.

Capra's Mr Smith Goes To Wash ngton, Ford's Stagecouch, and Hawke's His Girl Friday. In Japan Kenji Mizoguchi made The Story Of The Last Chrysanthenium and in Europe came Carné-Prévert's Le Jour Se Lève and Jean Renoir's Lu Règle du Jeu. When Renoir's film was released,

t was jeered by the public and derided by the critics. It was cut down from 113 to 90 minutes and finally banned for "demoralising". It took 20 years before it was shown again complete. And when it was, the reassesament began in earnest.

Even a cursory look at this masterpiece suggests how much the leaders of the French New Wave, intent on sweeping away the theatri-cality of what had gone before, took

This story of a country house weekend that progresses from farce into tragedy has almost everything: a deep appreciation of the vagaries of character; great human sympathy in spite of it's irony and satire; comment upon the state of society; and classical but daringly innovative film-making

Such a catalogue of virtues sounds forbidding, but the film's touch is so sure that even watching It for the first time, which I hope many will, it is possible to be constantly surprised.

It takes the form of a novelistic confession; the man who makes it is Octave, played by Renoir himself. Octave is a music critic too lazy to e the virtuoso he might have been; he becomes the unwitting orches rator of the tragedy.

The film has André, an aviator persuading Christine, the neglected wife of the host, to clope. Wearing a coat borrowed from her maid, she is seen in the garden and mistaken by the gamekeeper for his faithless wife. Therein lies the tragedy, in which guests and servants share

Octave also loves Christine and watches as everyone appears to betray everyone else. These are the rules of a bourgeois game illustrating through comedy the decadence of a crumbling society.

La Régle Du Jeu was the point at which, at least in Europe, the cinfor cinema. In America, it was the | ema cleared its throat and marched **GUARDIAN WEFKI Y**

In good company

Peter Hall tells Michael Billington about his plans to reinstate actor-led, text-driven theatre at the Old Vic

creating a company," Hall says.

Flesh has yet to be put on the

bones of his vision, in that the plays

and actors have still to be an-

nounced, but the structure is firmly

intact. Five classic plays will be fed

into an accumulating repertory

starting next March. Alongside

sioned by Dominic Dromgoole, ob-

OOR chimes, phone rings, | is that I'd like to return to the idea of in comes company, as they sing in the Sondheim musical, Company. And into the British theatre, at a time when the freelance ethos is almost universal, comes a bold new attempt to create a permanent company.

Peter Hall announced last week that he is to take over London's Old Vic in March, with Dominic Dromgoole — a new plays specialist and ormer director of the Bush pub theatre — as his assistant. They will present an initial 10-play season (five classics, five new works) with a team of 15 actors. It will be a sevenday-a-week operation with minimal sets, modest prices and calightened satronage from the Old Vic's Canalian owner, David Mirvish.

At a time when the subsidised theatre is forced to think commercially, it is staggering to find a commercial theatre operating on old-fashioned subsidised principles. But, as Hall explained to me, the idea springs from a mixture of personal need and strong dissatisfaction with the status quo.

"I feel a certain evangelical zenl to re-instate the idea of a company and to return to an actor-led, text-driven theatre rather than a designer or concept-led theatre. The general trend in the last 15 years has been, by the lights of my youth, increasingly culinary. I think it is much more decorated and visually expansive than is good for it.

"I don't think theatre can compete with Spielberg and there is not much point in trying. So obviously there is a missionary element behind it. But the main thing is that I (cel I've got one more thing in me and that thing | Sir Peter Hall looking forward to the Old Vic

and the possibility of a long life for Flexibility is the name of the

game. Hall is dismayed by the way, in the big companies, time and money are consumed by tearing down sets and putting them back up. As he says, we don't have real repertory now: plays are done in blocks of four performances at a time. But, at the Vic, John Gunter and Mark Henderson (respectively head of design and lighting) will be permanent background in which etween a matinée and evening

viously utilising his contacts from amounce his reportory, he drops the Bush Theatre. Each new play some heavy hints. There are sevwill have six performances a month. eral Shakespeare plays I haven't If a play takes, it will go into the repertory. "The idea of the six performances," says Hall, "is not to make new plays the poor relation, but to minimise the risk to us and the writer, what we can offer dramatists is a large east, a large space

done: Leur, As You Like It and Much Ado, and a want to revisit the Henry IVs. I've also never directed a Shaw except for Alan And Superman on r. dio: I'd like to do a full version of that on stage, as well as Maj a Barbara and Widowers' crouses,

Although Hall isn't ready yet to

"I'd also love to do Waiting For Godot again after 40 years. I've written down 31 plays I'd like to do, but suspect the first season will be largely mainstream classics with the counterpoint of new plays."

It is, as Hall is well aware, a highrisk venture. "It's not a subsidised theatre or a sponsored theatre. It depends on patronage. Because what the Mirvishes are saying is that 'If you lose money, it will stop. We're not expecting you to make noney but if you balance the books. do something people want to see and write a little chapter in the Old Vic's history, that's fine by us."

"It's a unique situation but I'd also pay tribute to Bill Kenwright, who's ocen godfather to the whole operation, and who will have first choice of any commercial exploitation of new plays and who has been unswervingly loyal. Who else would have allowed the to put on a fulllength Hamlet or Lysistrata in the

Hall won't reveal the cost of the operation. But with some actors seing paid more than at the National or the Royal Shake speare Company, with a top ticket-price of \$19 and with a box-office break-even point of 65 per cent of the Vie's capacity, it is hard to see how the Mirvishes can expect to get much change from a rougle of million younds

Hall's timing, as ever, is extremely shrewd. He will be relaunching an ambitions classic-and-new-play programme at a time when the Royal Shakespeare Company will be leaving the Barbican for the summer and when the National, with the handover from Richard Eyre to Frevor Nunn, will be in transition.

He insists he is not in connectition with friends and colleagues: he believes there is a large enough audience for all of them. But the key point is that he is restoring the company idea at a time when British theatre is vitiated by short-termism and

Priestley, and what you find is misery, memi-spiritedness and Priestley's weakness is that he hils to follow the plot through to its logical conclusion; he uncovers a cesspit and then strews Annie, the councillor's wife, for instance, has condemned her supposed husband as selfish,

stingy, dull, dreary and con-ceited you might expect her to slam the door like lbsen's Nora. Instead Priestley restores the status oue. You could take this as an ironically happy ending, in which bourgeois love of stability triumphs over yearning for freedom; in reality, Priestley seems of West End comedy.

But, even if Priestley suppresses the bornets' nest he has stirred up, Jude Kelly's production makes it clear this is a play about bad marriages and middle class parlour-power: Robert Jones's crimsoned sitting-room s filled with symbolically stuffed animals. Dawn French gives her best stage performance to date as the autocratic Mrs Soppitt who advances on Paul Copley's shrinking husband like a host of

avenging Furies.
The plum part, of course, is that of the press photographer, Henry Ormonroyd, played by Leo McKern with the stately dignity of a tipsy porpoise. McKern sets up his tripod with the estentations precision of the true drunk and, even if he sometimes growls bis lines semi-audibly, he makes something quietly moving out of the sottish snapper's reminder of

our common mortality.
What Kelly's production proves is that Priestley was always a Yorkshire moralist with a hatred of middle-class cant and take plety. It is not her fault that the clap-happy Chichester audience treats every exit as an excuse for another round.

Old devilry at Russian reunion | Calling all artists

PROMS

Andrew Clements

GENNADI ROZHDESTVENSKY was chief conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra between 1978 and 1981, when he gained a reputation not only for the inspira-tional unpredictability of his performances but also for the flair and quirks of his programming. Re-united with his old orchestra for last week's prom, he demonstrated he had lost none of his old devilry -who else would have begun a concert with a Bruckner symphony and ended it with a suite of film music, sandwiching some Stravinsky between them?

His instincts, as ever, were the right ones. Nothing could really folwhich Rozhdestvensky himself score composed in 1983 for a Soviet film of Gogol's novel. The sequence of nine movements is a surreal parade of the contradictory ingredients of Schnittke's musical language - there's a brittle polka recalling the early satirical ballets of Shostakovich, a funeral march with heavy Mahlerian overtones, a The problems of the finale, of how much that could have been left to reconcile its lyrical material with over from Weill's Threepenny Opera, and a sickly sweet lament.

However black the imagery, though, the composer's tougue seems to be firmly in his cheek, and | there was a huge amount to admire Rozhdestvensky's theatrical presen- in all four movements.

tation of the suite, as he chored graphed internecine struggles be tween the strings, and conducted : ove-hate relationship with the p anist in the orchestra, left no doubts about his reading of its seriousness It's a party piece for the conductor as much as for the orchestra.

Certainly it all seemed world: away from Stravinsky's Capriccio for piano and orchestra, in which the soloist had been Rozhedestvensky's wife, Victoria Postnikova. That in itself is a quirky piece, never really deciding whether it is the 18th or the 19th century which it is evoking so fondly, and only really gelling into a genuine dialogue between the orchestra and the piano in the final movement, but Postnikova took all the technical sleights of hand with

Before the interval Rozhdestvenwhich the ghosts of Haydn and Schubert seem to hover most obviously, and the way in which this per- pork-marked skin. formance let light and air into all the textures and gave the melodies a lilt and a buoyancy emphasised those Viennese roots. The problems of the finale, of how

its brasher, brass-led triumphalism. may not have been quite solved, though both groups of themes were shaped with great love and care, but

THE Whitechapel Open in London can be an overwhelming asof clashing artistic styles that leaves you stumble for the door. This year the selectors have opted for a more restrained version, focusing their gaze on works with an up-to-date contemporary feel, and co-opted four other venues to provide much

pretty conventional group show which lacks real conviction, though James Reilly's intriguingly strange portraits are worth an extra look They are the kind of painting that under-tow - the wrong body proportions, dead eyes, and alien-like,

(Bonner Road, London E2), seems profoundly reserved. Sheets of glass, hardboard, plastic, and lengths of wood have been leant, stacked together, or propped up in a series of temporary compositions. The materials are acquired in an adhoc manner and are usually found

the humdrum with elegance and

Carl Freedman

sault on the senses. A lucky-dip bag you numbed, with blurred vision, as needed additional space. At the rather swanky Delfina

sky had eased himself into Bruck- creep up on you, looking quite innoner 2 with relaxed flexibility. Of all | cent in washed-out pastels, until you the symphonies, it's the one in sense the presence of a disturbing Recent graduate Andrew Mount's work, installed in The Showroom

The 100 or so artists showing in

he Whitechapel Gallery itself give the Open more of its usual eclectic mix. The bright splashy splodges of Albert Irivin jostle for position alongside scruffy rag dolls, photorealist illusions, living apple trees, coloured penguin candles, and surrealist interiors. The noisy relationship between the contrasting works finds expression in Stella Christie's wonderful diptych of a telephone conversation. On one side, a stupidly smiling face expressing a dumb unassailable contentment. On the other, a man shouting down the mouthpiece with perspiring anger.

Ironic indifference, futility, uncertainty, and a predilection for the found object underline the collection of works at Commercial Two (Folgate Street, London E1). Nik Ramage's Brick could be seen as the signature piece — a crudely carved four-inch wooden head attached to a tatty old motor, rocking back and forth in headbutting motion against a single red brick, whilst the chipboard and walking stick sculpture, Anchor, by Andrew Bannister, is a wonderfully understated study of infirmity and despair.

With more than 1,000 other artists showing in the attendant studio shows, the Open is of epic proportions. Covering an oceansized chunk of London, it may in skips or the street. Mount clearly appear daunting. Take a deep has an assured touch, transforming breatly and plunge in.



Hollywood's smartest 18-carat lady

OBITUARY

Claudette Colbert

C LAUDETTE COLBERT, who has died aged 92, was one of the greatest Hollywood stars of the 1930s, a leading exponent of screwball comedy who also proved adept in costume drama. If the enduring image of her will always be as the hitch-hiking runaway heiress in Frank Capra's It Happened One Night, her bath in ass's milk in Cecil B de Mille's The Sign Of The Cros lies at the other extreme.

Colbert was born in Paris, but her parents, Georges and Jeanne Chanchoin, took Claudette to America when she was three. She was educated at Washington Irving High School, New York, then studied at the Art Students League before making her stage debut as Sybil Blake in The Wild Westcotts in 1923.

She made her first Hollywood film. For The Love Of Mike, co-starring Ben Lyon and directed by Frank Capra, in 1928. She arrived on the scene, with five years' stage experience, just at the moment l already been a success when other las Shirley Temple's mother (in l his diary, "she were tangerine lace, I died July 30, 1996

when studios were panicking about | broadly American actors had been the transition from silent to sound

After a few other films, notably opposite Maurice Chevalier in The Big Pond and Dorothy Arzner's Honour Among Lovers, Colbert was teamed with Chevalier again in her role as Ellie Andrews. Ernst Lubitsch's The Smiling Lieutenant, one of the most perfect of the early Hollywood operetta-films. Colbert played Franzi, the leader of an all-girls string orchestra playing in a Vienna Heurigen.

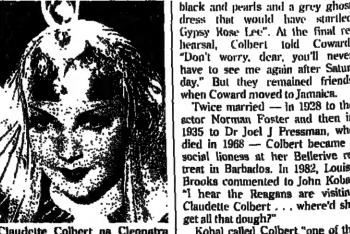
or any time - allowed the original sad ending, in which Franzi Is abandoned by her dashing lover, who is suffering pain, "Not when I'm in settles for marriage with a princess. | your arms," she replies - delivered When the film was revived, a with a superb low, contratto tone. packed house at the National Film In the late thirties, Colbert Theatre caught its breath as Colbert | appeared in three of her most enjoy-uttered the line: "Girls who stay for | able films: Lubitsch's Bluebeard's | Playhouse, Westport, Connecticut. breakfast seldom get invited back | Eighth Wife, Mitchell Leisen's Midfor supper."

Several films followed, culminatwith Clark Gable in It Happened | one of her most famous utterings) | not arriving word-perfect, insisting One Night he achieved the same and then George Cukor's Zaza. on being photographed from her sort of electricity on screen that had The late 1940s found Colbert cast "best side" and, as Coward wrote in

shown to have a spectacular chemical reaction with exotic, vaguely European stars (Gary Cooper and Marlene Dietrich, Gable and Garbo, and later Bogart and Bergman). Colbert won an Academy Award for

She continued to demonstrate her versatility in linitation Of Life (the story of a black girl passing as white). Private Worlds, a story set in a psychiatric hospital, and a memorable version of Oulda's Under Two Flags, in which Colbert, as the rivandière, dies in the embrace of Claudette Colbert as Cleopatra Ronald Colman, who asks her if she

night, in which leading men were John Barrymore and Don Ameche ing in the title role in Cleopatra. [("I had a feeling you had a feeling," Like many before and after her, Col-



in 1934 Since You Went Away), and then in a series of forgettable films. She re-

turned to the stage in Noël Cow-

ard's Island Fling at the Country She had previously appeared on television opposite Coward in Blithe Spirit, co-starring Lauren Bacall, When Frank Capra teamed Colbert | Colbert's line to Ameche, became | bert incurred Coward's wrath by

Gypsy Rose Lee". At the final rehearsal, Colbert told Coward: "Don't worry, dear, you'll never have to see me again after Satur day." But they remained friends vhen Coward moved to Jamaica. Twice married - in 1928 to the

actor Norman Foster and then in 1935 to Dr Joel J Pressman, who died in 1968 - Colbert became a social lioness at her Bellerive re treat in Barbados. In 1982, Louise Brooks commented to John Kobal I hear the Reagans are visiting Claudette Colbert . . . where'd she

Kobal called Colbert "one of the shrewdest women in Hollywood" and Irene Dunne wrote: "She'd finish a movie on Saturday and begin wondering what she was doing on Monday," For Hedda Hopper, who played with Claudette Colbert in Midnight in 1939, she was "the smartest, canniest, smoothest 18carat lady I've ever seen cross the Hollywood pike."

Patrick O'Connor

Claudette Liv Chauchoin (Colbert). actress, born September 13, 1903;

26 ARTS

When posh comes to shove

TELEVISION

Nancy Banks-Smith

WORDS to send a frisson of fear through the viewer — more ominous even than 'And now over to Desmond Lynam" — are "Intro-ducing talent new to television".

Remind me why the young are miserable. I've forgotten. En this ingly, Downward Nobility was Pat-4). Dominic Allan's document to be a season for new disthat Americheerful little prosperity was the Sophie, Johnson factor in their lives on the fauvent factor in the mid-South for the and the mid-South factor in the mid-s

Sont of the first they were cautious that and elieving, remembering the ireat Depression; but as the boom continued it bred "grand expectations", "large expectations", "ever larger expectations" (the phrases occur and recur, a leitmotiv).

They came to take affluence for granted; they thought it a right, not a stroke of good luck; and this, in turn, created a "rights-consciousness", in which everyone (also inspired by the example of the civil rights revolution) claimed a bigger slice of pie and, to an extraordinary extent, got it. But then it all went wrong. Individuals and groups began to quarrel over their gains, and success also bred arrogance hence the Vietnam catastrophe. Under the triple shock of the war, Watergate and the economic crisis of 1973, the post-1945 consensus fell | try to thrust American history to apart, and the United States has I the margin will be equally apparent;

Julian Critchley

Randolph Churchill

by Winston Churchill

His Father's Son: The Life of

Weidenfeld and Nicholson 514pp

THE CHURCHILL family, drunk

itable cottage industries. The Great

Winston wrote a filial biography not

only of his remarkable ancestor the

Duke of Marlborough, but of his fa-

ther, Randolph, as well. Little Ran-

was every bit as rude to the Labour

As a young man he was beautiful,

but a life of debauchery played

or sober, is one of the most prof-

long shadow of a famous of ever tary, The Shooting Part parts ferociously funny, male, but one protty. The command for it is curiwith Septem identify the mistakes over every identify undid the high We of the people and their leadwish. The Vietnam policy was undoubtedly one, and the biggest of all. But millions of Americans, by their own personal decisions, did most to

own personal decisions, did most to shape the history of the period. Patterson is the least pretentious

of historians, but what he seems to be presenting to us is a demonstra-tion of the terrible inevitability of history. At one point he explicitly questions the importance of presi dential leadership: he thinks it is too often exaggerated. The point applies more widely, as he also shows by his insistence on the importance of change driven from below, as for example in the civil rights struggle. History in this way may be seen as a phenomenon, not a process; but fortunately Patterson also seems to think that on the whole the gains were worth the price paid for them in blood, treasure and domestic upheaval. America was a better place in 1974 than it had been 20 years earlier. It is an exhilarating thought.

To read this chronicle is to watch the modern world unfold: the centrality of the United States to the history of the 20th century will seem undeniable, and the absurdity of those like Eric Hobsbawm who



Great expectations . . . Americans came to take affluence for granted

but for that very reason it is a pity that Patterson says comparatively little about America's place among the nations. To give one small in stance: tourism does not figure in the index, yet in its current form it is essentially an American invention, and a mighty important one too. But I have no other quarrel with Patterson's design. It should be said that on the whole he integrates social and cultural history quite superbly with that of politics and diplomacy; indeed he makes it his foundation.

He is a notable scholar of the pe riod but his major achievement here is to synthesise the labours of two generations of historians and other social scientists

Dr Patterson is a conspicuously clear and easy writer, but fainthearts may be daunted by the size of the ground which he covers. If so, they will be foolish, for this is not just a volume to look things up in. It is a comprehensive treatment of an immensely important subject, and the handling is a lesson in itself. He never makes unsustainable

generalisations, but manages to qualify every assertion without falling into insipidity: his judgments are never empty. His humour is deadpan but inescapable, and his professionalism is so nice that it is mpossible to be sure of his politics. Until time forces us all to change our minds, his book will stand as an allout-definitive account of its subject.

Paperbacks 4 8 1

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

vicholas Lezard

Confessions of an ivy League ookie, by Peter Alson (4th Estate, £7.99)

RUE-LIFE story which begins with Alson, aged 30, staring down failure's barrel and whacking norosely off to videos with titles like Hot And Nasty, who gets invited a friend to become a bookmaker (Note that this is actually illegal in the US, for some reason.) Having been to Harvard, he gets taunted by his sleazy and screwed-up fellow bookies; but as they are all New York wiseacres their banter is incredibly sharp and funny, the cops who finally arrest them having the best lines of all ("We got ourselves an Ivy Leaguer. Too many fucking doctors and lawyers, right? Let me see, think I'll go into bookmaking") could have done with less of the naterial about his problematic rela ionship with his girlfriend, but hey,

From Wimbledon to Waco, by Nigel Williams (Faber, £5.99)

those are the breaks.

N WHICH the gently comic novel ist recounts his family holidays in America. By "gently comic" I mean hat you will not be often troubled by anything so explosive as a laugh. I don't understand why this man is thought to be funny, let alone a "comic genius" (Sunday Telegraph). banality and suburban timorousnes (that disease endemic to the middle class which the Germans call "Threshold angst"), It's like discovering that Pooter was a real person.

Ethics, by Benedict de Spinoza, ed & trs Edwin Curley int Stuart Hampshire (Penguin Classics, £6.99)

VERY WELCOME addition to the Penguin Classics series. even though some of his propositions seem dauntingly obscure. When people complain that philosophy has, these days, degenerated into a private language, they are per-haps forgetting how long it is necessary to stare at a sentence like "No attribute of a substance can be truly conceived from which it follows that the substance can be divided" before it even begins to make sense. I've been looking at that for two weeks and even now I'm not sure.

The Puriolned Clinic: Selected Writings, by Janet Malcolm (Papermac, £12)

DIDN'T know much about Mal-

colm until I opened this book: she was one of those people who wrote those sadistically long essays for the New Yorker which made one feel relieved not to read. In book form, however, these same pieces (written between 1978 and 1990) become engrossing, whether she is writing about psychoanalysis, art (able to say, in 1986, that "God the colour of virtue") or Kunders she even makes a biography of Ed mund Gosse look interesting.

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havoc with his face and figure, and

Little Winston's father

his natural rudeness destroyed what hope of a political career he ever had. He seemed to go out of his way to offend everyone, from prime ministers downwards, reserv

ng his more intense fire for those who were not in a position to answer back — waiters, foreigners and research assistants. And yet that is only one half the picture. He had a capacity not only to make enemies but to make friends. It seemed that as a young man of spirit, brought up as an only son, in the stultifying shadow of the

dolph, son of Winston, began the biography of his father which was greatest man of the age, he could finished by Dr Martin Gilbert. Now either sink or swirn. He did neither, "Little" Winston has written a biography of his father, Randolph. The he spent a lifetime treading water. The "young Winston" does his faprocess seems never-ending ther justice, never avoiding the dev-Winston's book is much better ils that consumed him, but paying a than I expected. Little Winston, as he is known in the Commons, has had a relatively undistinguished ca-reer, thrown into relief by the suc-cess of his cousin, Nicholas Soames.

proper tribute to his father's energy, bravery and élan. Frustrated in pol tics, Randolph became a superb journalist: fearless and of good judgment. Among his favourite targets Little Winston was promoted in were the newspaper barons, and who deserved greater censure than the late seventies to the opposition they? What would he have made of Murdoch and of Black? That he front bench by a sympathetic party leader, but he did not shine, and should be alive this day. soon fell out with Mrs Thatcher over Rhodesia. And Winston, who

The most interesting part of Little dolph's wartime exploits, especially defence team as he was to the Sovicombination of Britain's greatest Randolph was a pain in the butt. fighting soldier (Fitzroy Maclean) in the company of its greatest novelist (Evelyn Waugh), and its most disappointed man (Randolph) is

biography? Nicholas Soames?

worth the whole volume. Do you have a Randolph and Winston were no BOOK TO PUBLISH? on good terms when his father died. Yet the final chapter of Randolph's Then leading independent publisher may be able to help you. rumbustious life is perhaps the best THE PENTLAND PRESS written of the book. Frankly, I did EDINBURGE COMBRIDGE DUTRAM USA Saluriai Office (WO) 1 Hutton Close, South harch, Bishop Auckland, Durham DL 14 6 KB not think Winston had it in him, and I doff my hat. But who will write his

It's off to work we go

Jim Davies

by Elisabeth Pélegrin-Genel Flammarion 216pp £28

A PPARENTLY, the office will soon have gone the way of the outside tollet. Tomorrow we'll all be wandering around with tele-modems and touchsensitive keyboards tacked on our wrists, and our digital avatara will clock into the virtual office to do all our work for us probably in half the time we can

In some ways then, The Office represents a curious monumen to a bygone era of typing pools, brilliantined clerks and blotting paper, when obsequious employees lustily sang the compan song and were cowed by the size of the boss's cigar.
This is a book full of whimsical

facts and figures: it claims, for instance, that 8 per cent of fights between office employees have led to fatalities, 20 per cent to post-traumatic stress: it highlights research in the US which suggests that sexual attraction between colleagues "with or without sexual contact"

It is visually eclectic, too. naginatively raiding the archives for film stills from the likes of Metropolis and Tony Hancock's The Rebel, and using onintings such as Hopper's "Office At Night" and Norman Rockwell's "Window Cleaner"

emphasise textual points. For the main part, though, we are presented with page after page of immaculately photographed office interiors (all inexplicably empty); the banal and

the bizarre, in every conceivable style from Art Deco and Bauhaus to Zen and Futurist a kind of Elle Deco meets

Management Today.
The Office's main failing is that it doesn't know whether it's a coffee-table tome or a sociological treatise, and it ends up falling between those two desks. The author, Elisabeth Pélegrin-Genel, is a distinguished architect and psychologist. Flitting uneasily from one discipline to the other, she describes the evolution of the office in architectural and design terms expertly enough, but comes unstuck in her attempts at simultaneous pop psychology. Crucial develop ments, such as the advent of the open-plan office and its subsequent effect on company culture, are scantily addressed, whereas a whole section is

devoted to writers' favouring of sparse, monastic work spaces. Most advances in office design have been in Scandinavia and the US. There's an over-abundance of Gallic offices in this book, which was first published in France — mostly sumptuous ninisterial bureaux, dripp with old masters and gilt and forgiven, however, for the wonderful full-page photograph of the late President François Mitterrand working at a simple Pierre Paulin desk, dwarfed by the most extravagant candelabra

expectations of office. These gripes saide, The Office is a handsome, entertaining and sporadically informative book a homage to the space in which many of us, for better or worse, pass much of our lives.

- a lonely man bowed by the

Glasgow's doomed visionary Barefoot boffins

Harriet Stewart

The Wing of Madness by Daniel Burston Harvard University Press 275pp

R D Laing: A Divided Self by John Clay Hodder & Stoughton 308pp £20

T IS often said that true doctors prefer the company of their pa-tients to that of their colleagues, and psychiatrists prefer those who are mentally ill to those who are not. One of the projects of the psychiatrist R D Laing (Sanity, Madness And The Family) investigated the families of schizophrenics to see how they differed from "normal" families. Although Laing did some useful research into the behaviour of the former, he was unable to stomach the latter. Normal families "were just so

dead and stilling and, at the same time, it was very hard to describe what the deadening was. So it was difficult to say what the difference between the two was, except that in the normal family nobody cracked up." It was because of his hostility to normality that Laing was, in the 1960s and 1970s, the only psychiatrist of whom many people had heard. He became a guru after the publication of his most famous books, The Divided Self, Sanity, Madness And The Family and The Politics Of Experience, Once a Fontana Modern Master, jostling Freud and Wittgenstein on the shelves, Laing now seems more of a historical curiosity than an intellec-

Two new appraisals describe all that was not normal about Laing's upbringing. He was born in Glasgow in 1927, an only child. Bizarrely, his parents always insisted that they had ceased all sexual activity ages before his conception. His mother concealed her pregnancy from her family until the day of his birth. Her odd behav iour continued into Laing's child hood. She would sometimes take him on elaborate detours through Glasgow, in order to avoid malevolent influences lurking in certain streets. Household rubbish was

Jonathan Romney

James Dean by Donald Spoto

HarperCollins £18

Rebal: The Life and Legend of

LIE WAS "not an extraordinary

person in real life", James

Dean's flatmate said of him. "If any-

thing, he was rather bothersome."

in fact, Dean emerges from Donald

Spoto's biography as extraordinarily

bothersome: a poseur, careerist and

vorld-class sulkpot. Spoto's title

promises another reverent dabble

n the myth of the transcendent tear-

away, but by the end there's very lit-

tle legend left. What emerges is a

talented, but desperately limited,

young actor with a severe case of

"success poisoning".

Dean sounds like he needed a

good slap; if you believe the gossip,

that's what he liked. The teen saint

purity has been challenged by the



could not gain information about the family

Until 13, Laing shared a room with his mother, while his father was relegated to a small back room. His family did not pay or receive calls, and Laing described first going to school as an "absolutely ecstatic experience". He went on to Glasgow medical school.

Laing's early medical experiences were brutalising and are well depicted in Clay's and Burston's accounts. Observing medical students and doctors toughening themselves against the distress of others, he began to criticise a system of medical care that distanced itself from of the therapist's understanding and

from Spoto, who chronicled Hitch-

cock's sexual repression and Lau-

rence Olivier's romance with Danny

Kaye. But he pleads with impecca-

ble courtroom logic that where no

Dean's liaisons with both sexes

are duly covered, but there's a much

juicier story here, of an incorrigibly

immature boy trying to carve out an

identity from diverse models. On

the fictional side, he identified with

Billy the Kid and The Little Prince.

Montgomery Clift. It's bitterly

ironic that the boy who became an

icon so much larger than his heroes

could be fairly described as Holly-

Dean's early years are ordinary

almost to the point of parody. Spoto shows him enthralled at the tales of

Paul Bunyan and Johnny Appleseed

but defuses from the start the image

wood's first great wannabe.

evidence exists, there is no story.

The contemporary cowboy capitalist

own practice, he was conspicuous for his empathic relationships with patients. He tried to enter the worlds of schizophrenics in order to communicate with them. Laing showed that it was possible

to treat mentally ill patients with more humanity, "Would psychiatrists, were they ill, want to be admitted to their own wards?" was his characteristic challenge.

Burston's elegant account o these early years has a measured thoughtfulness, alongside which Clay's chattier style suffers. Clay comes into his own in his descriptions of Laing's later attempt to found a community, Kingsley Hall, in which mentally ill people could live in harmony in the company of therapists. Here no restrictive doctor-patient relationship would obstruct genuine communication, and people would be able to come and go as they pleased. A psychotic breakdown was seen as an existential crisis from which an individual could reach a more authentic way of being, rather than a physical illness treatable with drugs.

The therapists living at Kingsley Hall were for the most part Laing's acolytes, young Americans keen to test out his theories. Free expression was the rule. Kingsley Hall became a Mecca for hippies, junkies and visiting celebrities.

Clay describes, rather realistically I suspect, a world of Hampstead analysis, taking LSD and sharing houses with new partners plus the ex-wife and kids. The resultant rows and dismay evidently provided yet more opportunity for free

The Wing Ot Madness is the more scholarly and articulate book, concerned as much with Laing's work as with the life. Yet even Burston has difficulty in drawing a egacy from Laing's work. Thirty-six years after the publication of The Divided Self, psychiatrists have found physiological models of schizophrenia more convincing than environmental ones.

Laing indeed cast himself as a visionary who was doomed to be spurned and misunderstood by his peers. Ironically, his vision was itself an old one: that by the mere exercise burned so that the neighbours the patients' pain and anxiety. In his humanity a person might be cured.

> You might expect more of the same | violent crime from way back. He similarly dissects Billy the Kid's career,

the economic and ideological climate of post-war America, and the commercial institution of the Teenager. When it comes to the legendary films, Spoto is as enthusiastic as other commentators, if a touch luke warm on Giant. But about the boy himself, he can be relishably wildness intact. scathing: commenting on one letter, he rebukes "the feeble attempt to

sound enlightened and crudite". On the post-mortem idola He idolised Marion Brando and Spoto doesn't spread his cultural net wide enough — there's a catalogue of actors influenced by him, but nothing about the generations of rockers who cribbed his act.

Spoto excels, however, in his final reading of Dean as a socioeconomic phenomenon of post-war America. Dean's self-absorption and individualism make him no sort of dissident, but a purely conventional of the simple Indiana farm boy, he | product of his time. "No threat at legend of the "Human Ashtray", a lets us know that Indiana was no all, "Spoto calls him - "a contempogay hustler with S&M propensities. | peachy heartland, but a hotbed of I rary cowboy capitalist."

John Vidal

The Spears of Twilight by Philippe Descola larperCollins 458pp £20

y Joe Kane larperCollins 273pp £16,99

LL OVER the eastern Ama zon, chaotic frontier wars are grumbling. Sometimes they flare into short, sharp military of fairs between countries, but mostly they are between tribal minorities and the harbingers of global economic change — timber, oil, cattle companies, backed by their respective, if less than respectful, governments. The frontline these days is in ickety Ecuadorean, Colombian and Peruvian shanty towns, along newly cut roads and in forest clearings. The casualties, as ever, are the indigenous.

It is an inglorious, messy conquest that has been going on for generations but is now reaching an nevitable conclusion as the last doors of the Amazon are prised open by international finance, rampant globalism and religion. And just as the heavy, homogenous hand of Western political and economic orthodoxy inevitably pollutes the culture and cosmology of everything it settles on, so we are learning just what we are losing.

These days our eyes and ears are hose of a new breed of barefoot social anthropologists, ethnologists, human rights workers and environmentalists. Men such as the Scot Alan Toraig Campbell, the American Darryl Posey and now the French Philippe Descola have spent long, ascetic years living with remote peoples on these frontlines of civilisation, meticulously chronicling the societies they have come

Their reports read better than most fiction. What makes these new observations of "savage" sucieties so chilling and exciting is that they show us how socially and politically narrow we have become. Descola's The Spears Of Twilight throws wise doubt on Western notions of time, heritage, power, authority and rule. His 16-year association with the notoriously warlike, reputedly head-hunting Achuar people is a massive classic

of modern anthropology. The Achuar are one of the last livaro tribes still continuing their tribal vendettas unhindered on the forest borders of Ecuador and Peru. When Descola first went there in the seventies, little was known of them even by people living a few miles from their encampments Other tribes feared them. The myths suggested that they were a jealous, bloodthirsty nation, their

Descola is an intellectual with dirty feet. Trained by Claude Lévi-Strauss, he and his mysterious, Christine throw themselves into Achuar society with commendable naivety and honesty. After initial incomprehension. Descola is amazed at the emotional sophistication and intellectual diversity he finds: here is a society that lives by its dreams and places the very high-est value of social philosophy on the realisation of an individual's destiny, freely mastered and within the reach of everyone.

Above all, he finds the Achuar are a people without memory. Remem-

brance is feared, the past is irrelevant and the future is viewed with indifference. Everything, he discovers, is bent to the demands of the Achuars' immediate interests. The Achuar do not distinguish between man and nature; their world is struc tured on the type of exchange that they can establish with all its diverse inhabitants, each of which animal, vegetable or mineral — is invested with a greater or lesser existential reality. So there is no discrimination between spirits, plants, animals and humans. The only dis tinctions are of order.

But where sits society in this world of individual eco warriors? Here Descola's findings will be of interest to political theorists. He finds no natural ideal of a res publica or a common weal that might transcend individual interests; yet he finds uncanny parallels with modern democracies. It is the Achuar's declared individualism that provides the basis for the equality of people, an equality he finds far more real among them

It is a personal journey, too, for Descola. The conscientions ethnologist, by now socially transparent and fluent in Achuar myth, language and gossip, starts identifying with his hosts. His companions become his brothers, he walks barefoot to practise for when the shoes run out. They do. He travels on warring raids, he rails against missionaries trying to rain economic wealth on them; time and again he wonders what on earth he is doing wasting his life here on this obscure stage, accumulating thousands of useless notes. At this point the reader wants to put an arm round him and congratulate an extraordinary man.

TIS JUST possible that Descola came across Joe Kane, an American journalist who has spent several months on two trips to he same region to live with the nomadic Huaorani tribe. Savages, an extended version of some of Kane's ong pieces in the New Yorker, is a graphic description of a stone-age society under real siege by Western petroleum companies, starry-eyed environmentalists and dogged missionaries. It is fertile ground, unforunately denuded by Kane trying to fit his lively cast of characters into a hriller format.

Kane wants his subjects smiley, wise and, I suspect, ready to do a screen test. We rattle around forest paths with Huaorani who just happen to have Hollywood senses of humour and speak Spanish, and are full of pranks, moral outrage and ap-propriate disbelief. Kane is able and sincere; what is happening to the Huaorani is a vile scandal and needs to be told journalistically. But he really should leave the social investigations to the professionals.

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begin to experience its gorgeous fertility, the shoulder-high vegetation rising up to engulf you on all sides, while molehills clog the path. But these are not the usual small earth piles one easily steps over; these molehills are fulsome mounds so intensely black they look like the breasts of Mother Earth herself.

By the time the path reaches ar alder wood one also has some in-sight into what gives the place its distinctly humid, faintly oppressive atmosphere: the superabundance of water. In fact, if you stand for any time on one spot, you feel the place slowly trying to suck you down. At Upton the water-table is virtually at the surface, while the dykes crisscrossing the 65-hectare site originally ran for 21 kilometres. Parts of the system are now deep in mud, but elsewhere they are crystal clear and it is their purity that accounts for the wealth of dragonflies, the grass snakes and the rich fen flora. including an array of care orchids.

The swampy conditions are also ideal for mosquitoes, and while these might compound the subtropical feel, they are hideously rapacious, reminding me why East Anglia was amongst the last malarial regions in England. Yet if one can ignore these tormenting insects, this alder woodland is a magical habitat.

The trees close in a great arch overhead to give it a cave-like gloom this is the only British site where I've seen day-flying bats). Where the canopy does occasionally break it enables honeysuckle to loop and scramble upwards to mingle with the sunlight. These shrubs, in turn, are the reason for one of Upton's most heautiful residents, the white admiral, whose caterpillars feed on the leaves. In what seems to have been land flowers and breeding dragon



an excellent year for them, the striking black and white butterflies are everywhere, gorging themselves on the nectar of bramble blossom. During summer visits here I am

often overwhelmed by the atmosphere of nature running riot, yet I'm equally struck by the ironies underlying this appearance. For Upton's liversity doesn't depend on soil fertility, but on the exclusion of nutrients. The spring-fed fen is isolated from the rest of the Norfolk Broads system, which leaves it free from the effluents that have polluted the waters elsewhere, clogged up the system with algae, and caused a number of once similarly rich sites

to deteriorate. However, the more compelling irony is that despite its wilderness character Upton was very much a working environment until the second world war. The turf pools that

flies were formed by peat-cutting, for centuries a major source of fuel in the region. Equally, another factor is the low nutrient conditions was the annual removal of marsh vegetation

for hay, known by the old, evocative

vernacular name of "gladdon". This was often exported to London, where until the turn of this century it found an important market among the capital's 13,000 horse cabdrivers. Today, although it no longer turns a commercial profit, the place is still "worked" by its current owners, the Norfolk Wildlife Trust.

While environmentalists often ament Britain's lack of wilderness, Upton is a salutary reminder that some of its most wildlife-rich landscapes are not necessarily those unsullied by human presence. They can be places where mankind has been active for centuries, while their exceptional abundance is directly dependent upon continued human participation.

Chess Leonard Barden

ANATOLY KARPOV and Garry | Rxd6 Bb7 15 e5 Be7 16 Rd1 g5l Kasparov have agreed to a (Shirov-Lubron, Dortmund 1996). \$2 million reunification match next year. The meeting between the champions of the two versions of the world title promises an end to the schism which began in 1993 when Kasparov, then the undisouted world number one, launched his breakaway organisation

Since then, however, the 45-year old Karpov has enjoyed something of an Indian summer, while Kasparov's results have slipped. As a result, the pair are now bracketed together at the top of the world rankings.

Karpov's recent win over Gata Kamsky and Kasparov's victory last year over Vishy Anand showed up the weaknesses in the younger chalengers: Kamsky may be too dour to succeed, while Anand proved ulnerable in a match crisis.

All this is good news for Vladimir Kramnik — just 21 and already virtually the equal of the two super-Ks, he is looking even more like the heir apparent. Kramnik's recent run of success continued last month at Dortmund, where he and Anand were unbeaten and shared first prize: Anand, Kramnik 7/9; Gelfand 6: Adams, Polgar 41/2; Shirov, Topalov 4; and three others.

A major plank of Kramnik's opening repertoire is his belief, playing Black, in the sharp and doubleedged Richter Sicilian. The Richter is easy to prepare for, so Kramnik's opponents often fancy their chances: but, like Kasparov and Fischer, who also championed sharp Sicilians, he keeps finding new resources.

> Hübner-Kramnik, Dortmund 1996

1 e4 c5 2 Nf3 d6 The Richter can occur whether Black chooses to play d6 or Nc6 here; however, if White varies at move 3. Kramnik prefers to defend 2 . . . d6 3 Bb5+Bd7 rather than 2 . . . Nc6 3 Bb5.

3 d4 cxd4 4 Nxd4 Nf6 5 Nc3 Nc6 6 Bg5 e6 7 Qd2 a6 8 0-0-0 h6 9 Be3 Be7 10 f4 Nxd4 11 gambits by Bxf6! 13 Qxd6 Qxd6 14 | stalemate.

b4 13 Ne2 This is where the 1996 Richter really starts. White's last is preferred to 13 Na4 Rb8 14 e5 dxe5 15 Bxe5 Bd7! (Polgar-Kramnik, Moscow Rapid 1996).

Qa5!? Perhaps more precise than 13 ... e5 14 Be3 Bd7 15 h3 Qa5 16 Kb1 0-0 (Yudashin-Rechlis, Israel

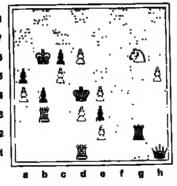
14 Kb1 e5 15 Be3 0-0 16 Rhe1?! Passive play. 16 h3 may transpose to the last note. Rb8 17 Nc1? Rd8 18 Ba7

Rb7 19 Bg1 Bg4! Thus exploiting White's failure to push the h pawn. 20 Nb3 Qa4 21 Rc1 exf4 22 Qxf4 Be6 23 Bd4 Rb5! Finally refuting Hübner's ponderous build-up. The threat is 24 . . . Ra5 25 Nxa5 Qxa2 mate, while if 24 Bxb5

axb5 and Ra8 with a winning attack. 24 Qd2 Ng4! Intending Bg5. 25 c4 bxc3 ep 26 bxc3 Other recap-tures are no improvement. If 26 Bxc3 or 26 Qxc3 Rxb3l as in the game while if 26 Rxc3 Bxb3 wins a piece.

Rxb3+ 27 axb3 Bxb3 28 Re aigns. The threat of Rb8 followed by Bc2 mate gains decisive material.

No 2433



against any defence (by C Sam melius). This looks easy, but Black's rook is an agile defender.

No 2432: (a) g1Q 2 Qd1+!(not 2 Qb5+? Kc2) stalemate. (b) g1R 2 Bxd4 b5 12 Bd3 If 12 Bxf6 Black | Qb5+! (not 2 Qd1+? Rxd1) Qxb5

the suicide squeeze. He exited

with a diamond, and now the

defenders had a problem they

If West did not cash his four

And when West did cash the

diamond winners, South would

concede a spade to East, who could

diamonds, East was forced to hang on to his black suit stoppers, so had

to discard three hearts. The posi-

North

₩92

None

▲ J 4

None

◆97

108

±82

♥AK

♦ None •6

could not solve.

do no harm.

★65

♥ 1087

None

None

Quick crossword no. 326

1 Rubbish say No! (6) 4 Preserve (a body) (6)

Edge (of road) (5) 9 Furthest part of aircraft (4-3) 10 Bright red (7)

1 Money, maybe

filthy (5) 12 Villain (9) 17 Vagrant (5) 19 Fnendly to

speak with (7) 21 Ox (7)

2 Find answ to (5) 23 Township near

Johannesburg (6) 24 Mediterranean island (6)

Down

Abduct (6) 2 Elbow to wrist

3 Pinch (5) 5 The envelopes. rot the capital (7) 6 Upper room (5)

7 Popsy (6)

9 Identification Last week's solution in paper (9) BODY FLOOD LIT 13 Sustain (7) 14 Pipe-like (as stee! or bells) (7) 15 Horse painter (6) 18 Niche or holiday (6) 18 Permit (5) 20 Dubious or questionable (5)

Bridge Zia Mahmood

THE CLUB pedant was holding | South forth: "No such thing as a suicide squeeze," he proclaimed. "A squeeze is when you're forced to discard on other people's lead. You can't discard on winners you've led yourself, can you?"

He had a point, but the term is now firmly part of the language of bridge. It is commonly perpetrated by one defender against the other, though it is possible for declarer to squeeze dummy, or vice versa. Cover the East-West cards in the hand and decide how you would play an ambitious 3NT contract ds (fourth best):

North **★** K973 ♥92 **♠** K 1084 East **★** J 10 4 **♦ Q65 ♥QJ63** ¥ 1087 ♦ 95 ♦ A Q 10 4 2 **49732** #QJ **♠** A82 ¥AK54 ♦ K86

★A65

Pass Pass

South won the opening lead with dummy's jack, then played a club to

hope, and when South next led a club to dummy's king the fall of the queen brought South's total up to eight tricks.

Now, if only he could set up a spade without letting East into the lead. But East and West were a pair from the South seat on the lead of of international players from the declarer's problem. When South led a spade from the table, hoping to duck the trick to West, East smartly put in the ten. South had to play the ace and West brilliantly threw the

If West had failed to perform this unblock, South would have led a second spade, ducking if West played the queen, and playing king and another if not.

But after West's fine defence it appeared that South could no longer: In dire straits, South fell back on

West exited with a spade to dummy's king, but the play of the ace and king of hearts compelled his last chance - that is, I East to hoist the white flag.

Olympic Games

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Gold hunt in need of brass

Quardian Reporters

HE 1996 Atlanta Olympics ended as they had begun, with great pomp and cere-mony, glitz and razzle dazzle. But there were also lots of tears. Tears of rage, tears of joy. There was a tribute, too, to the victims of the Centennial Park bomb, which left two dead and scores injured.

The crowd of 85,000 in the Olympic Stadium observed a moment's silence and the president of the International Olympic Committee, Juan Antonio Samaranch, said that terrorism would never destroy the Olympic movement.
The shooting of two National

Guardsmen helping with security on Sunday also east a cloud over the closing ceremonies. One of the men, who were off duty and in civilian clothes, was killed and the other wounded as they left a restaurant.

Mr Samarauch, in his closing speech, stopped short of saying the Games were the best ever, as tradition dictates. Earlier, he had hit out at the rise of commercialism in the Games, saying more public funding was needed.

As the closing formalities ended. the athletes invaded the arena for a huge party. Helping them along the way were rock stars Stevie Wonder and Little Richard. The Olympic torch is now passed to Sydney, host of the 2000 Games. The Games brought 15 medals

for Britain, one gold, eight silver and six bronze, the country's worst showing for 20 years. Among the winners in the second week was Roger Black, who earned a silver in the 400 metres. There was also silver for Cornish teenager Ben Ainslie in sailing. John Merricks and Ian Walker also took the silver medal in the men's 470- class.

The Anglo-Italian cyclist Max Sciandri finished third, earning Britain's first road racing medal for 40 years and vindicating his decision to opt for the British team last season after being cold-shouldered by the Italian selectors.

arbstance and in the next say there insufficient evidence to disqual-Britain's poor showing in the

homas, Mark Richardson and Roger Black — celebrate their silver medal in Atlanta

In tennis, the scratch pairing of Tim Henman and Neil Broad was deservedly delighted at the silver medal in the men's doubles. Among the later medal winners

Before Sciandri, the last Briton to

stand on the Olympic road race podium was the Londoner Alan

Jackson, who took the bronze at

Melbourne in 1956.

for Britain were javelin thrower Steve Backley, who picked up a silver, and the 400 metres relay team of Jamle Baulch, Iwan Thomas, Mark Richardson and Roger Black, who also had to settle for second best. Cyclist Chris Boardman, winner of gold in the track pursuit in Barcelona four years ago, finished with bronze in the road time-trial, the first time the event has been

held in the Olympics. Swimmer Nick Gillingham vowed to take his battle for bronze in the 200 metres breaststroke to the court after Russia's Andrei Korneyev won his appeal against a drug offence. The Court of Arbitration for Sport reinstated Korneyev, who had tested positive for Bromantan, because it ruled there was insufficient

evidence to disqualify him. The 29-year-old Gillingham, who finished fourth and stood to be the first British swimmer to win a medal in three successive Games, said: one breath admit he took a banned bly fade in the face of financial necessity

Olympics was blamed on a lack of unding. The chief of the British Olympic Association, Dick Palmer, called for the entire structure of the country's sport to be revolutionised.

He said: "After Barcelona we decided it would need £4.5 million a year to ensure we did better than we did then, to be sending athletes who were properly prepared to take on the best in the world. We did not get

"Hopefully these results will raise the question of how we can run our sport. This must be a watershed, the moment of truth falling in front of our eyes. A country of around 55 million people should be producing more world-class athletes and better results than we do."

Alan Rapley, the captain of Britain's swimming team in Atlanta, would like to carry on to compete in the Sydney Games because he feels he still has to reach his full potential. But when he gets back home to Sheffield this week the first thing he will do is visit the local job centre to try to get a job that will help him pay off the debts he has run up while in Georgia. Otherwise, his "This is nonsense. How can they in | dream of Olympic glory will probaThere are tales of poverty every-

where you look in the British team. Denise Lewis, who took the bronze medal in the heptathlon, was able to prepare properly only because seven West Midlands businessmen - one for each of the disciplines she undertook — chipped in £1,000 apiece to a special training fund.

The plight of the yachtswoman Shirley Robertson was highlighted during the BBC's Olympic Video Diaries series screened during the run-up to the Games. She was down to her last penny on more than one occasion and close to quitting before a sponsor came to her rescue at he last moment.

And the sad, penniless state of British sport came under the spotlight again on Sunday when it was revealed that two divers had been forced to sell their official issue Olympic kit to raise money for a

Robert Morgan, who has won 30 British national diving titles and was competing in his fourth Olympics, and his team-mate Tony Ali packed their bags full of their official kit, headed for Atlanta's Peachtree Street and grudgingly touted their gear for sale to the highest bidders, nostly Americans.

"We are desperate for money,"

SPORT 31

Medals table Relaying the good news . . . Britain's 4x400 metres relay team - from left, Jamie Baulch, Iwan

said Morgan, "We haven't got any sponsorship so what are we suit posed to do?

In a long career, Morgan, who lives in Sheffield and trains fulltime, receiving an "elite performer" grant of £15,000 from the Sports Council annually, finished fifth in Barcelona and was 13th in Atlanta. His colleague Ali, also a full-time diver, receives social security bene-

Sports Dlary Shiv Sharma

Everything coming up roses for Lancs

last-gasp victories. Twice they have | the Lancashire innings. beaten Derbyshire and Yorkshire, once on the last ball of the match. and have also notched up a heart-Northamptonshire.

In the latest close encounter of the victorious kind, the quarter-final of the NatWest Trophy at Old Trafford last week, they completed a hat-trick of last-over victories over Derbyshire. Dean Jones's team arrived at the final over nine short of Lancashire's 289 for nine, with three wickets in hand. But Wells was bowled, Vandrau was run out and bowled, Vandrau was run out and since 1985, will take on Surrey.

Lancashire captain Mike Watkin final ball.

Lancashire got their field placing ing Yorkshire again: "Our B&H

ANCASHIRE are becoming dab hands this season at pulling off Mike Atherton was the highlight of sult, although I don't want it to be as

In the other quarter-finals, there was an easy, 100-run win for Essex similar margin.

cashire are paired again with Yorkshire. The Roses rivals last met in | dick of Somerset, Lancashire's John the Benson & Hedges Cup tie | Crawley and Ronnie Irani of Essex. which Lancashire won on the very last ball. In the other match, Essex. who have not won a one-day trophy who have not won a constant who have not won a constant

son relished the prospects of meet-

secured a five-wicket victory, and the England squad to face Pakistan Somerset (225) fell to Surrey by a in the second Test at Headingley this week. Also out are Simon In next week's semi-finals, Lan- Brown and Mark Ealham, who is in jured. Their place goes to Andy Caddick, Salisbury and Irani.

N rugby's transfer sensation of

London Broncos and Rugby Union club Bedford — in a code busting, historic double deal. The 29-yearold winger agreed a three-year deal with the Broncos with whom he will play in the summer, and a four-year contract with Bedford where he will spend the winter months.

The transfer fee has not been disclosed but it is believed to be (286) over Hampshire, Sussex (212-9) were seen off by Yorkshire who RAEME Hick, woefully out of form, has been dropped from two clubs, Offiah said; "I'm looking forward to the challenge. The fact that I'm from London was a big factor in the move."

In football, Daniel Amokachi leaving Everton to join Turkish club Besiktas. The Nigerian International, who helped his country become the first African team to win the Olympic football tournament in Atlanta by beating Argentina 3-2, was brought to Goodison Park for £3 million by former Everton manager Mike Walker but was unsettled

LYHALF Joel Stransky was South Airica's hero after scoring all their points as they defeated Australia 25-19 in the Tri-Nations Test at Bloemfontein. Stransky grabbed his side's only try, converted it and kicked six penalties. Australia, trailing by 16 points with 14 minutes remaining, staged something of a recovery, but it was not enough. In e final match of the tournamen in Cape Town on Saturday, South Africa will meet New Zealand, who have already wrapped up the inaugural competition.

S PAIN'S Alex Criville won the Austrian 500cc Grand Prix at Zeltweg, with a final lap charge after Australian Michael Doolian, who leads the world championship, suffered a slight wobble. "I took advantage of a small mistake on Doohan's part when he accelerated too fast." right and the Derbyshire skipper semi with them was a thrilling game was restricted to only two. A su- and we came back from the dead to to join two clubs — Rugby League's and we came back from the dead to to join two clubs — Rugby League's Royle.

